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IN KYIV

Russian forces have been ordered to retreat from advancing Ukrainian troops in Kharkiv to focus on defending

their position in the Donbas region, according to Western intelligence sources. Vladimir Putin's generals are expected to cede a huge area before setting up a new defensive line to the east of the Oskil river. Ukrainian forces have

reclaimed about 2,300 square miles of territory, president Volodymyr Zelensky said yesterday. He urged the West to speed up its supply of weapons to maintain the momentum of Ukraine's counteroffensive operations.



Editorials

The chancellor is gambling with public finances

There is – usually – nothing wrong with ministers being forceful and refusing to take “no” for an answer from their civil servants. But not, surely, when a new minister breezes in and orders his bewildered staff to suspend the laws of gravity and make water run uphill. It would be doubly wrong, in such a circumstance, to then sack his most senior civil servant because the hapless official had pointed out the very real practical difficulties with the plan, suggested an impact assessment and perhaps a few pilot schemes to see how the reversal of Newtonian physics and long-standing scientific orthodoxy (“stale” to some) might pan out in the real world.

That, however, seems to be what’s happening with the arrival in the Treasury of Kwasi Kwarteng, a man not obviously lacking in self-confidence. Just like that, with a flick of his ministerial fingers, like a character out of Lewis Carroll, Mr Kwarteng has decreed that the UK is to return to an economic growth rate of 2.5 per cent per annum, and that nothing else matters. Shades of the Queen of Hearts.

Presumably, though we cannot know this, Tom Scholar, the permanent secretary at the Treasury, raised some “no,

chancellor” objections to the diktat, and he was asked to leave. Off with his head! Mr Kwarteng will find someone who is prepared to say yes. The upper reaches of the civil service, contrary to myth, are surprisingly replete with such obliging personalities. But is the chancellor wrong? His ambition is laudable, but he invites failure because there is nothing much that he or a compliant civil service can do to bring it about. Shifting the growth rate of an advanced economy from stagnation to a good historical level would be a daunting task at the best of times. And these are hardly the best of times.

Perhaps Mr Scholar’s replacement will engage Mr Kwarteng on recent economic history, though Mr Kwarteng is a highly clever man and familiar with much of it – he has written a very readable account of the economic travails of the first Thatcher administration. The British economy enjoyed a long period of unbroken strong economic growth with low inflation from about the early 1990s to the financial crash of 2008. It was known as “the great moderation”.

The drivers were many and various but included: the continuing impact of Thatcherite reforms of previous decades, on labour markets, financial services and privatisation; the EU single market; immigration; globalisation; the internet and new technologies; operational independence of the Bank of England and inflation targeting; and a reasonably responsible attitude to the public finances during successive governments.

Now, most if not all of those benign influences have either been played out or have fallen into reverse, and Mr Kwarteng’s high-handed approach threatens to leave the public finances and the independence of the Bank of England wrecked in his dash for growth.

Mr Kwarteng and Liz Truss plead that radical tax cuts will restore incentives and boost growth. This may be true but such effects take time to come through, and may easily be wiped out if, as now, public borrowing threatens to embed inflation in the system and prompts the Bank to ramp up interest rates. The energy crisis may well mean unavoidable extra burdens of debt,

but the risk to inflation is all the greater if taxation is slashed on top of the subsidies to households and businesses.

Mr Kwarteng is also keen on seizing those much vaunted “Brexit opportunities”. Yet they have proved elusive, even to a zealot such as Jacob Rees-Mogg. Promoted to business secretary, his Department for Brexit Opportunities has mysteriously disappeared. Certainly, if the UK weakened worker rights, as rumoured, or environmental safeguards, GDP might be boosted but it would be politically difficult to “sell”; and the EU-UK free trade agreement has “level playing field” and “non-regression” clauses that make such moves unlawful.

So all Mr Kwarteng is left with is a blind belief that cutting taxes and increasing public borrowing – regardless of inflation, the trade deficit and the value of sterling – will unleash such a wave of animal spirits in British business that growth becomes self-propelling and tax cuts self-financing. If it is anything, it is Keynesianism on amphetamines.

Or, truth to tell, a political gamble that the boom will last long enough for the Tories to win the next election before the economy blows up. No wonder the Treasury civil servants, who will still be around to try to pick up the pieces, are worried and resistant.

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Putin under fire as Russian forces retreat from Kharkiv



A Ukrainian soldier stands on newly liberated territory in the region (AP)

JON STONE
DAVID HARDING

Russian forces have been ordered to retreat from advancing Ukrainian troops in Kharkiv to focus instead on defending their position in the eastern Donbas region, according to Western intelligence sources. Vladimir Putin's generals are expected to cede an area nearly half the size of Wales before setting up a new

defensive line to the east of the Oskil river, according to intelligence.

Ukrainian forces have reclaimed more than 2,000 square miles of territory as they continue their counteroffensive, the country's president Volodymyr Zelensky said yesterday, regaining key locations in the Kharkiv region. He has urged the West to speed up arms supplies to maintain the momentum of its offensives.

Some Russian units fled their positions in "apparent panic" leaving behind a "significant quantity" of weapons, vehicles and ammunition as they retreated, Western officials said yesterday.

State-of-the-art counterbattery radar systems are among equipment Ukrainian troops have come across as they make surprise gains in the Kharkiv region. Russian forces are not expected to try to retake the land around Kharkiv and "are likely in the process of withdrawing from the whole of occupied northern Kharkiv Oblast, an area of up to 10,000 square km or approaching half the size of Wales", one official said.

Officials believe it is too early to say whether the Ukrainian advance is a turning point in the war but described recent gains as the equivalent to Ukraine having "scored a goal before half-time". And they did not deny reports that British and US military officials played a role in advising Ukraine on its counteroffensive. While Russian soldiers appear to have been ordered to retreat, the "professionalism" of that retreat differed dramatically between different units and areas of the front, the sources say.

"It's too early to say whether this is a turning point in the war, but it's a moment that has power in terms of both operations, logistics and psychology," one official said. "In marked contrast to Russia, Ukraine has demonstrated impressive operational art and adherence to the core principles of war."



Some Russian officials took the brave step of publicly calling for Putin's resignation (AP)

Holding the Donbas region is high up on the Kremlin's list of publicly stated strategic objectives, particularly for its domestic audience back in Russia. The Kremlin insisted yesterday that Mr Putin has the backing of the Russian people, despite murmurings of discontent and criticism following Ukraine's successful counteroffensive.

"Russians support the president, and this is confirmed by the mood of the people. The people are consolidated around the decisions of the head of state," said Kremlin spokesperson Dmitry Peskov. "As for other points of view, critical points of view, as long as they remain within the law, this is pluralism, but the line is very, very thin, one must be very careful here," he added. The response from the Kremlin came after outright criticism of Mr Putin and the military leadership earlier in the week.

Some Russian officials took the brave step of publicly calling for Mr Putin's resignation. District councils in the long-serving leader's home city of St Petersburg were among those who have urged the country to oust the 69-year-old.

As Ukraine began a successful counterattack against Russian-occupied positions in the Kharkiv region, deputies from St Petersburg's Smolninsky District issued a statement calling for Mr Putin to be tried for treason. Dmitry Palyuga, one of the

councillors, tweeted that the motion was supported by most of the district's deputies.

“We believe that the decision made by President Putin to start the special military operation is detrimental to the security of Russia and its citizens,” he said. Criticism of the Russian president has also crept up into the national state TV discourse.

In a rare show of defiance, Boris Nadezhdin, a former liberal politician, told a Gazprom-owned channel that Mr Putin had been misled into thinking Ukraine would capitulate if he invaded. “We are now at the point where we have to understand that it’s absolutely impossible to defeat Ukraine using those resources and colonial methods with which Russia is trying to wage war,” he said.

Despite the Ukrainian successes, the Kremlin said yesterday there was no discussion of a nationwide mobilisation to bolster its forces. “At the moment no, there is no discussion of this,” Kremlin spokesperson Mr Peskov said when asked if Russia would mobilise its reserves after being driven out of almost all of the Kharkiv region in northeast Ukraine.

On the ground yesterday, Ukrainian troops piled pressure on retreating Russian forces, pressing a counteroffensive that has produced major gains and a stunning blow to Moscow’s military prestige.

Mr Zelensky claimed yesterday that his troops had retaken roughly 6,000 square km (just over 2,300 square miles) of territory this month. Ukraine’s defence ministry added that in Russian-occupied regions of the Crimea and southern Ukraine, Russian proxies, intelligence officers and military commanders were fleeing,

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‘They were in a sad state’

Ukrainian soldiers describe captured Russian military personnel as having low morale and not wanting to be there



A destroyed bridge in Izium, Kharkiv region, yesterday (AP)

KIM SENGUPTA

IN KYIV

Some of the Russian forces driven out of Ukraine’s Kharkiv region have fled back across the border, although the elite tank regiment tasked to carry out the first strike against Nato and

defend Moscow has stopped its retreat at Donetsk. The Kremlin's main stronghold in the northwest has fallen, the route to Donbas reclaimed by Ukraine.

The Russian troops left in the eastern and southern front in Ukraine are battered, "degraded" in military parlance, and morale is low. The sweeping gains made by Ukrainian forces have led to more than 6,000 square kilometres (2,300 square miles) of territory being recovered in 12 days – four times the size of Greater London or bigger than Denmark, according to various comparisons.

The time and tide of the conflict is changing and the beginning of the end may now be here. Volodymyr Zelensky's government has urged the West to speed up arms supplies to maintain the momentum of its offensives. American officials also said there were ongoing discussions on whether to provide Kyiv with warplanes, although this would not take place in the immediate future.

Nato has committed more than \$8bn (£6.9bn) in military equipment for Ukraine, with \$4.6bn coming from the US. Senior Western officials attending a conference in Kyiv at the weekend confirmed that several Nato governments are in talks with manufacturers to increase production.

The arrival of equipment such as High Mobility Artillery Rocket System (HIMAR) and Multiple Launch Rocket System (MLRS) weapons has undoubtedly changed the battlespace, halting the seemingly inexorable Russian advance in the Donbas in the east.

However, even with more advanced weaponry it is not going to be quick, and the next phase of clawing back occupied land is going to continue to be bloody and bitter, and not necessarily one way traffic.

Three months ago, as Ukrainian troops entered newly-liberated towns and villages around Kharkiv following months of pounding, the mood was understandably ebullient.

One unit was sent pictures from comrades who had reached the Russian border, and the images spread through social media.

There was similar excitement on Monday as the Ukrainian government announced some of its forces had reached the northeastern border with Russia.

Colonel General Oleksandr Syrskyi, commander of Ukraine's land forces, cautioned three months ago against over-optimism. Russian attacks in some of the freed villages, while we were there, showed they had not gone that far away. They subsequently came back to within artillery range of Kharkiv and started shelling the city again.

Last week Col Gen Syrskyi was in the town of Balakliya which had been recaptured. As the Ukrainian flag was being raised on the main square he said: "Today we are completing the liberation of Balakliya, the first big city in our offensive. I'm sure it'll not be the last city. Ahead of us are Kupiansk, Iziurm and many others."

Within days, Kupiansk, a key point in Russian supply route where a number of railway lines meet, was captured, followed by Iziurm, the main Russian military stronghold in that frontline straddling the road to the Donbas.

The Col Gen – an old Soviet rank abolished by Ukraine with an exception made for Syrskyi – is said to be much more confident this time that the Russians would not be able get back into the Kharkiv oblast.

Captain Nicolai, serving in a mounted infantry regiment, had taken part in the last Kharkiv counteroffensive. There were differences this time, he felt. "We found that more and more from the the Donetsk and Luhansk separatist republics (DNR and LNR) and fewer Russians and they were as badly trained and armed as usual," he said.

"We captured quite a few and they were in a sad state. Some of them said they had been dragged from streets, from shops, to fight. Whatever the truth of that, they didn't want to be here."

A fellow officer, Lieutenant Oleksei, added: "Overall, there were fewer of them. We found in certain positions they were masking the numbers trying to show that there were more there than was

the case. When we captured positions we found they were not lacking weapons, ammunitions, but fewer soldiers than we expected.”

A senior Russian-appointed official in Kharkiv oblast, Vitaly Ganchev, said that Ukrainian forces outnumbered the Russians eight to one during the counteroffensive. Ukrainian officials deny the difference was so large, but acknowledged that Russians have moved sizeable numbers to the south in response to another Ukrainian offensive towards the city of Kherson.

Some Ukrainian officials, and Western ones by proxy, have claimed that the Kherson “operation” has been a ruse to fool the Russians, while the one aimed at Izium from Kharkiv was always the real deal.

This, however, appears to be an attempt to exploit the factor of Russian unpreparedness to the full. “Never let a Russian crisis go to waste”, said an official in the presidential administration. “There is a lot of dissatisfaction among the Russian military about what’s happening. Lack of organisation, lack of intelligence, we are trying to make use of that.”

Kherson is very much a real operation, but progress has been slow for the Ukrainians on that front. The media, both Ukrainian and international, are being kept away from the frontline by the government, so it has difficult to gage the state of play independently. But the signs of discord back in Russia relating to what is unfolding in Ukraine are certainly on the rise and more in the open.

A Ukrainian pro-Moscow blogger Yury Podolyaka, who has 2.2 million followers on Telegram, said: “We need to be honest, the Ukrainian command has outplayed us here.” He warned of a “most serious combat defeat” unless the Kremlin manages to “stop the Ukrainian breakthrough”.

A Russian military blogger, Maksim Fomin, declared that Russian forces have been beaten. “The situation is very difficult. Let’s exhale and say that we have been defeated,” he said. Fomin demanded an investigation into why the Russian forces were

seemingly unprepared for the Ukrainian offensive leading to the debacle.

What must worry the Kremlin is that Ramzan Kadyrov, a staunch ally, has now turned his guns on the Russian leadership over the debacle. The Chechen leader, thousands of whose troops have been fighting in Ukraine, said the “real situation” on the ground is “astounding” and has accused the military command of making major mistakes.

The Russian mercenary company, the Wagner Group, run by the oligarch Yevgeny Prigozhin, another ally of Vladimir Putin, has also deployed to Ukraine. Their numbers have grown as the Russian military struggled to replace the increasing toll of dead and injured.

Wagner, too, has been taking casualties. Last month the Ukrainians hit the group’s forward base in Popasna, killing a large number of fighters, using HIMARs and there are reports that it is having difficulties in getting numbers for Ukraine.

A former Wagner contractor, who had deployed to Syria and Libya, said that friends serving in Ukraine have been telling him that it was only a matter of time before Russian defences were breached.

“It’s common knowledge that the situation is very poor, there and a lot of people don’t want to go. I was told of all kinds of problems, lack of coordination, planning, untrained soldiers who were dangers to everyone else. I thought about Ukraine, went to have a look in Donetsk, but didn’t go at the end and certainly won’t go now”, said Murat Usmanov who now lives in a central Asian republic.

“Their [Wagner’s] quality also deteriorated, the people they are sending are substandard. The Russians underestimated the Ukrainians who are better trained and better armed. With winter coming a lot of people on the Russian side won’t have proper clothing, proper equipment, proper weapons, It’s going to get even more bad for them.”

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‘To my mother the Queen, thank you’, says Anne



Scotland bids its final farewell to the monarch at Edinburgh airport yesterday (AFP)

HOLLY BANCROFT

IN EDINBURGH

The Princess Royal said it was an "honour and a privilege" to accompany the Queen's coffin as it left Scotland yesterday on its journey to Buckingham Palace.

The late monarch's only daughter said the love and respect shown to the Queen on her journey from Balmoral to Edinburgh

and onto London had been “both humbling uplifting”.

Crowds broke into applause as the coffin was taken from St Giles’ Cathedral in Edinburgh, where some 26,000 well-wishers had queued for many hours around the clock to pay their respects.

Princess Anne escorted the hearse to Edinburgh Airport, where the coffin was flown by military transporter to RAF Northolt and taken through rush hour traffic to central where the Queen will lie in state at Westminster Hall from 5pm today.

“It has been an honour and a privilege to accompany her on her final journeys,” she said in a statement. “Witnessing the love and respect shown by so many on these journeys has been both humbling and uplifting.”

She finished: “To my mother, the Queen, thank you.”



Princess Anne said a final ‘thank you’ as the Queen left Scotland for the last time (PA)

The princess was in Scotland when the Queen was taken ill, and stayed at her bedside at Balmoral Castle, as senior royals rushed to say their final farewells.

“I was fortunate to share the last 24 hours of my dearest mother’s life,” Anne said.

The Queen’s coffin arrived at Buckingham Palace shortly before 8pm yesterday, where crowds had waited patiently in the rain.

Standing at the grand entrance, King Charles III and his Queen Consort were surrounded by the late monarch's children and grandchildren and their partners, including the Prince and Princess of Wales and Duke and Duchess of Sussex.

On its journey into London, sections of busy roads such as the A40 came to a stop with drivers stood by the central reservation watching while the public lined the pavements.

It was an echo of scenes in Edinburgh, where thousands turned out to watch the Queen's final journey after a long day of public ceremonies on Monday including the King's first visit to the Scottish parliament.

Lord Ian Duncan, deputy speaker in the House of Lords, said crowds along the Royal Mile were "10-deep" while the streets surrounding the historic precinct were equally crammed with people.

"The sheer quantity of individuals moving into Edinburgh today [indicates] that there will be many tens – possibly even hundreds – of thousands of people who will wish to pay their respects to the late Queen," Lord Duncan said.

"That is an extraordinary outpouring of respect, grief, celebration of an extraordinary woman, he continued.

"By goodness, they were 10-deep. They had to stop people trying to get there because it would have become dangerous.

"The streets around [the Royal Mile] were crammed and now, as people wait to walk past the coffin itself, the expectation of the numbers and the sheer quantity of humanity in Edinburgh today is extraordinary."

While many people were warned to expect a 12-hour wait to see the monarch's coffin at St Giles' Cathedral, those who queued overnight said their wait time was five or six hours.



Mourners had queued for hours to see the coffin lying in state (PA)

Gavin Hamilton from Edinburgh said he was informed upon arrival it would likely be 13 hours before he would have the chance to pay respects to the Queen, but it soon became apparent the wait would only be five or six hours.

“It took about five and a quarter hours waiting in line to see her,” he said, adding he made it into the cathedral just before 3am.

“There were people in the queue with me who had travelled from Aberdeen, over 100 miles away, to do this. There were thousands of people in line at 12.30am at the start of the queue.

“The people were still [lining up] after 2.50 am when I got into the cathedral.”

Fellow mourner Mitch Stevenson, who queued for just under five hours with his sister, said they were “overwhelmed with the power and emotion of the occasion” after making it into St Giles’ Cathedral just after 1am.

The siblings had initially been advised they would probably need to wait 11 hours to see the Queen’s coffin but were not deterred.

“It was a very important occasion for us – we lost our mum earlier this year and she would have loved to have been able to go, so we went for her memory also,” Mr Stevenson said.

“We were told [we would need to wait] about 11 hours. We accepted this but later found out it was not the case,” he added.

“Some people, including myself, felt it was perhaps a little bit of scaremongering to get the crowd numbers down a bit.”

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King questions DUP leader over position on Brexit deal



Crowds cheer as King Charles III and Camilla, Queen Consort arrive for a visit to Hillsborough Castle yesterday on their tour of the UK's four nations (Getty)

JON STONE

POLICY CORRESPONDENT

King Charles spoke to the leader of the Democratic Unionist Party about its stance on the Northern Ireland Brexit deal as he attended a ceremony in Belfast following the Queen's death. Charles was paying his first visit to Northern Ireland as monarch and had a lengthy conversation with Sir Jeffrey Donaldson about the European Union and NI protocol.

During a reception in Hillsborough Castle, the royal residence in Northern Ireland, Sir Jeffrey told the new sovereign that he believed the situation could be resolved. Charles also spoke to Sinn Fein vice president Michelle O'Neill about the Northern Ireland Assembly and its current impasse. And Ms O'Neill, whose party are staunch republicans, wished King Charles well and said she was sorry for the loss of his mother.

The Brexit deal's Northern Ireland protocol, which was negotiated by Boris Johnson, has caused consternation among some unionists in the territory. The treaty is designed to prevent a hard border on the island of Ireland after Brexit but it has introduced new trade barriers in the Irish Sea – which unionists are ideologically opposed to. The impasse over the agreement – which commands popular support among the general public in NI according to opinion polls – has sparked a power-sharing crisis at Stormont, with the DUP withdrawing from the Executive in protest.

In London, the UK government has threatened to override parts of the deal, but the European Commission says this would break international law. Brussels already has open legal actions against the UK government for not properly implementing parts of the protocol. Speaking at the reception Sinn Fein vice president Ms O'Neill told Charles that the late Queen's "life and legacy will be fondly remembered by those of a British identity here who with great pride and devotion held her very dear".

Ms O'Neill added: "She led by example in advancing peace and recombination and the building of relationships with those of us who are Irish, and who share a different political allegiance and aspirations to herself and her government.



The King met the leaders of Northern Ireland's political parties (Getty)

"I hope this continues now that you are King and the British-Irish relationship strengthens and evolves as one era ends, and a new one begins in these changing times." The reception was attended by a wide mix of sports, politics and business people from Northern Ireland, including Alliance leader Naomi Long and the SDLP's Matthew O'Toole.

King Charles pledged to "seek the welfare" of all Northern Ireland's people. In a brief speech at Hillsborough Castle he said the late Queen was aware of her position in bringing together divided communities "whom history had separated".

"Through all those years, she never ceased to pray for the best of times for this place and for its people, whose stories she knew, whose sorrows our family had felt, and for whom she had a great affection and regard," he said. "My mother felt deeply, I know, the significance of the role she herself played in bringing together those whom history had separated, and in extending a hand to make possible the healing of long-held hurts."

He added: "Now, with that shining example before me, and with God's help, I take up my new duties resolved to seek the welfare of all the inhabitants of Northern Ireland." Later, Charles attended a memorial service at St Anne's Cathedral in Belfast, where he pointedly went to greet Irish president Michael D Higgins and warmly clasped his hand.

The two heads of state, who have developed a strong personal relationship in recent years, are keenly aware of symbolism. As the new King ascended the steps of the cathedral, he turned and waved to the crowd that had waited to see a moment of history. Students from Belfast Royal Academy Kaitlyn, 17, Lucy-Beth, 17, and Sophia, 18, were among those invited to gather at the metal barricades at St Anne's.

"It's a historic moment," said Sophia, with Lucy-Beth adding that it was "bittersweet" coming to see the new monarch while also mourning the death of the Queen. "He waved and seemed interested. It was nice to see he appreciated the crowd," Kaitlyn said. Florence, 17, from Bloomfield Collegiate School, said it was a "monumental" occasion and very symbolic to have Ms O'Neill and Sir Jeffrey unite in showing their respects to the late Queen.

She said that a couple of decades ago no one would have expected such unity. "I'm so proud to be a part of it," she said.

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What effect will Charles III have in Northern Ireland?



Stormont speaker Alex Maskey, who was interned by British authorities during the Troubles, looks on as the King meets Sinn Féin leader Michelle O'Neill in Belfast (AFP/Getty)

SEAN O'GRADY

It is all too easy to contemplate the affairs of Northern Ireland and despair. It was the default reaction of most British public figures for many decades, until John Major in the 1990s found the situation morally and financially abhorrent. Together with the Taoiseach of the time, Albert Reynolds, he launched the

peace process. There were disappointments, setbacks and walkouts – but also progress.

In due course, the talks brought forth the Belfast Good Friday Agreement, periods of surprisingly harmonious power-sharing government, and peace. Ian Paisley and Martin McGuinness formed the most unlikely political partnership in the modern history of these islands. Though currently suspended, as collateral damage from Brexit, cross-community power-sharing structures remain in place. There is still hope.

It takes a moment to appreciate the remarkable nature of the King's reception in the stately rooms of Hillsborough Castle. Not so long ago, the idea that a British monarch and consort could exchange small talk with the political representatives of armed Irish republicanism would have been unthinkable. Nor would words of Irish have been spoken at such an official event, and certainly not by a former member of the Provisional IRA, Alex Maskey, now the speaker of the Northern Ireland Assembly. A half-century or so ago, Maskey was interned without trial by authorities acting in the name of the Queen; now, he delivers condolences on her death to her son.



Charles and Camilla arrive at Hillsborough Castle (EPA)

Catholics generally were rarely entertained during the long Orange ascendancy. The leader of Sinn Féin, committed to the end of British sovereignty in the north of Ireland, is now first minister and will attend an audience with a king she doesn't

regard as legitimate. King Charles III lost his close mentor Lord Mountbatten to the Troubles, as well as many of the armed forces of which he is now head. As Charles noted obliquely, his own family has felt the same sorrows as many others.

He also pledged to “seek the welfare” of all Northern Ireland’s people. The Queen had “never ceased to pray for the best of times for this place and its people” and was aware of her position in bringing together divided communities “whom history had separated”, Charles said.

“My mother felt deeply, I know, the significance of the role she herself played in bringing together those whom history had separated, and in extending a hand to make possible the healing of long-held hurts.” Later, he shook hands with Irish president Michael D Higgins following a memorial service at St Anne’s Cathedral in Belfast.

Not much can be drawn from short encounters such as this week’s, yet the King shows every sign he is closely following the example of his mother as supporter and advocate of the peace process. Her visit to Ireland in 2011 is often cited as a high point of her reign. She spoke a few words of Irish, went to the Catholic cathedral and bowed to the memorial to Republican rebels. Charles and Camilla followed it up with their own initiatives such as their state visit to Ireland in March.

By all accounts, Charles will use his influence and prestige to nudge the parties towards progress. At times in the past, his ancestors have tried to convene meetings to get politicians to settle their differences – a constitutionally hazardous venture, even in London.

However, there is nothing the King himself can do in practice to settle the future of the EU-UK Northern Ireland protocol or the status of the Irish language in the province. If trouble does return to Northern Ireland, and its place in the UK is further loosened, all he can do is try to promote reconciliation and peace. In the moist-eyed remembrance of Elizabeth II’s brave and historic personal diplomacy, we ought not to overestimate its power.

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Thousands to miss NHS bank holiday appointments



Charles and Camilla on their way to Buckingham Palace yesterday (AP)

REBECCA THOMAS

HEALTH CORRESPONDENT

Thousands of hospital and GP appointments have been cancelled due to the public holiday on Monday. Many hospitals are to postpone outpatient appointments and planned

operations because of reduced staffing, while most GP surgeries will also close.

NHS hospitals in England have been urged to contact patients who could be affected, whether or not their appointment has been postponed.

Some hospitals have said they will be operating as usual, while others have said that they will postpone some non-urgent appointments.

Meanwhile, NHS leaders have called on the government to clarify whether all NHS staff in England would be required to work and whether they would be entitled to the usual higher rates of pay for public holidays.

Dr Layla McCay, director of policy at the NHS Confederation, said: “As different rates of payment are given to frontline health and care staff for working over bank holidays, NHS leaders are awaiting confirmation from the government that this additional cost will be compensated in full.”

Hospital trusts are expected to make their own decisions around appointments based on local staffing levels and whether or not local transport will mean patients and staff are unable to attend.

Some patients and doctors have expressed concern about their appointments being postponed.

One doctor told *The Independent*: “I have the greatest respect for the Queen ... but when patients are waiting up to two years to be seen ... really?”

Sources at University Hospitals Birmingham (UHB) said the trust was cancelling outpatient appointments but emergency and “vital” services would continue.

In an email to staff, Sandwell and West Birmingham Hospital Trust (SWBH) said planned urgent cancer operations would go ahead providing staffing levels were “safe”.

The message said all other planned non-urgent primary care, planned procedures and outpatient appointments would be

rescheduled. Both UHB and SWBH told staff they will get enhanced rates for working on a bank holiday.

Norfolk and Norwich University Hospital FT said emergency, urgent and cancer operations would continue but added: “A reduced routine service will also be provided to allow as many staff as possible to participate in the bank holiday and witness the funeral of Queen Elizabeth II.”

One GP leader in London said practice staff were now getting “abuse” over the bank holiday closures.

Meanwhile, patients were urged to check they have enough medication. NHS officials in North East Essex and Suffolk said: “GP practices will be closed on bank holiday Monday September 19 for the funeral of Queen Elizabeth II.

“If you have an appointment booked for that day you will be contacted to reschedule. If you use repeat prescription medicine please check you will have enough to last.”

Oxford Health NHS added: “Patients across Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Berkshire West are being reminded to order repeat prescriptions in plenty of time for the coming bank holiday weekend.”

The Royal College of Obstetrics and Gynaecologists said trainee doctors due to take an exam on Monday will have to have it postponed to January. In a statement, it said the venues used for exams will be closed and cancellations would have a “significant” impact and be “disruptive” for doctors.

The Department for Health and Social Care was approached for comment.

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A million mourners set to travel to see Queen's coffin



Visitors to London have been warned they face queues of up to 35 hours (PA)

THOMAS KINGSLEY

London could reach “bursting point” this week as up to 1 million mourners are expected to descend on the capital to pay respects to the Queen as her coffin lies in state.

Authorities have said visitors hoping to see the late monarch’s coffin at Westminster Hall could face queues of up to 35 hours and will be expected to stand for long periods of time as public

viewing runs from 5pm today until 6.30am on Monday, the day of the funeral. New Metropolitan Police chief, Sir Mark Rowley, who first joined planning for the Queen's death "five or six years ago", said the lying in state presented a "massive challenge" and would involve thousands of officers to ensure well-wishers can pay their respects safely.

Royal fans are already sleeping on pavements before the line even opens, with Downing Street saying organisers on the ground would make a decision on any "cut-off point" once they see the "scale of people who are attending". Officials expect a maximum of 350,000 people will be able to view the Queen's coffin, despite the venue being open 24 hours a day.



Mourners have already begun setting up tents (AFP/Getty)

The government has warned commuters they may want to avoid central London this week because it will be "extremely busy", with rail bosses saying overcrowding is likely. A meeting of the government's Cobra emergency planning committee was told Monday that the estimated queueing times for Westminster Hall could be up to 35 hours, with the number of people expected to visit the capital estimated to total between 750,000 and a million, according to reports.

Mourners faced 10-hour queues in Edinburgh where the Queen laid in rest at St Giles' Cathedral. More than 26,000 people saw the coffin, but they only got less than a minute to pay their

respects. Here is what to expect in the next five days across London.

Queuing

An elaborate plan codenamed Operation Feather is being led by the Metropolitan Police to ensure there is a safe and efficient queuing system. Visitors will also go through airport-style security and there are tight restrictions on what you can take in. A string of items are banned, including any camping equipment, large bags, flowers and cuddly toys, and banners or placards which could be used to “cause a disturbance”. This will be a shock to mourners, many of whom have already begun setting up tents in the hope of avoiding long queues.



Queues in Edinburgh to view the Queen lying in state (PA)

Authorities have also provided guidance on dress code including warning against clothing with “political or offensive slogans”. The queue is likely to snake along the south bank of the Thames, past Tower Bridge, and as far as Southwark Park – a route 4.9 miles long. There will also be a “special access” queue set up from Tate Britain for those with disabilities, and restaurants and cafes will be open through the night. Churches along the route will be asked to provide support to those waiting.

Transport

Rail capacity is set to be doubled on some lines as Network Rail warned of “unprecedented travel demand”. Transport for London (TfL) said some stations could be closed, while

temporary queuing measures could be put in place if there are crowd control issues.

Underground stations near Buckingham Palace are already experiencing a surge in demand with travellers urged to avoid Green Park station and walk from nearby stops to reach key monuments. According to TfL, passenger numbers in the capital spiked significantly over the weekend as mourners flocked to pay their respects to the Queen. On Saturday TfL saw 2.49 million Tube journeys across London up 85 per cent of pre-pandemic levels while on Sunday TfL saw 1.79 million Tube journeys across London – up 86 per cent.



The Queen's final journey (PA)



Flowers at Green Park in central London (Getty)

The Cabinet Office has been preparing for the “very real possibility” that London will reach capacity, reported *The Times*. A rail source told the newspaper: “There is real concern the capital will reach bursting point. All the planning has been done by the Cabinet Office as part of Operation London Bridge and it will be for officials to tell the rail industry to instruct passengers not to travel.”

Andy Byford, London's Transport Commissioner, said: “I would urge all customers to check before they travel, using the TfL

website or TfL Go app, as while we're planning to run a normal service, there may be short notice changes and diversions as a result of the large number of people travelling and necessary road closures."

Policing and Security

Sir Mark said his top priority in his first week was ensuring Londoners and visitors can safely pay respects to the Queen. Metropolitan Police officers, as well as Welsh police officers, are manning the expected route, parts of which are already lined with barriers. After the Tate, it is unclear where the queue to see the coffin will flow beyond there, security staff say. Around 10,000 police officers could be on duty every day in London in the lead-up to the Queen's funeral as part of the biggest security operation the country has ever seen.



Police officers stand among floral tributes left outside Buckingham Palace (PA)

Three Premier League matches have already been postponed this weekend due to policing restrictions. Chelsea's home game with Liverpool and Leeds United's trip to Manchester United has been called off. "Following extensive consultation with clubs, police, local safety advisory groups and other relevant authorities, there was no other option but to postpone the three fixtures," said a Premier League statement.

Chelsea's game against Red Bull Salzburg in the Champions League today is still on, but Arsenal's Europa League tie with

PSV Eindhoven tomorrow has been postponed.

Accommodation

Hotel prices are up to four times higher on Sunday – the night before the funeral – compared with a week later, analysis by the PA news agency found. The cheapest room at Park Plaza County Hall – one of the closest hotels to Westminster Abbey – on Sunday night costs £1,299 compared with £269 seven days later.

Crowne Plaza London Albert Embankment is charging £708 on the eve of the funeral, which is nearly three times more than on Sunday, 25 September, when the price is £244. Rooms at Novotel London Waterloo cost £490 on Sunday and £241 a week later.

Many hotels near Westminster Abbey owned by lower-priced chains, such as Premier Inn and Travelodge, are fully booked for Sunday. Premier Inn has no rooms left at several of its sites, including London County Hall, London Waterloo (Westminster Bridge) and London Victoria. Paul Charles, chief executive of travel consultancy the PC Agency, said: “Demand to stay in London over the next fortnight, especially from foreign delegations, is at its highest level since the Olympics in 2012.”

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Royal news in brief



Pre-dawn parade: a full-scale rehearsal took place before the sun came up (PA)

Thousands of troops stage early morning rehearsal

Final preparations for events in London, following the death of the Queen, got under way early yesterday as a full rehearsal for the procession of her coffin to Westminster Hall took place in central London. Thousands of soldiers in ceremonial uniform gathered at Buckingham Palace in the early hours for the practise run before the real thing today.

The early morning rehearsal saw the horse-drawn carriage of the King's Troop Royal Horse Artillery being led along the route. A black coffin was placed on the gun carriage and at around 4am

the procession was ordered to march and the carriage, pulled by seven black horses, made its way via Queen's Gardens, The Mall, Whitehall, Parliament Street, Parliament Square and New Palace Yard. *PA*

Barrister threatened with arrest over blank piece of paper

A UK barrister being threatened with arrest over a blank sheet of paper has led to comparison of Russia's crackdown on dissent. Paul Powlesland filmed his interaction with an officer who claimed that the sign "may offend" people if he wrote "not my King" on it.

Mr Powlesland said he was threatened with arrest, writing on Twitter: "Just went to Parliament Square and held up a blank piece of paper. Officer came and asked for my details. He confirmed that if I wrote 'Not My King' on it, he would arrest me under the Public Order Act because someone might be offended."

The incident has been compared to the March 2022 arrest of a woman in Russia who was dragged away by police for holding a blank sign.

Putin not invited to Queen's funeral

Russia is among just three countries that will not receive a single invite to Queen Elizabeth II's state funeral on Monday, Whitehall sources have said. Representatives of Belarus have also not been invited after the country supported its ally Russia in the invasion of Ukraine.

And Myanmar, a former British colony now ruled by generals after a military coup in February last year, makes up the third country shunned. Iran, meanwhile, has received an invite from the foreign office but is expected to "only be represented at an ambassadorial level".

In one of the largest diplomatic gatherings in decades, nearly 500 foreign dignitaries are due to join the bereaved royal family

in London to pay their last respects to the Queen.

Holidaymakers at Center Parcs outraged by closure for funeral

Center Parcs has announced it will order holidaymakers to leave its UK sites on the day of the Queen's funeral. The company is being inundated with complaints after it revealed that its five parks will close for 24 hours from 10am on Monday. Guests midway through seven-day holidays – which generally cost more than £1,000 for a family of four at this time of year – will be forced to spend the night elsewhere or go home early.

Tracey Groome said: “Thanks to Center Parcs, we won't even get to see [the funeral] because we will be trying to entertain two children and two dogs. I'm very sure it would not be what the Queen or the royal family wants.”

Customers who want to cancel their holidays are being offered a full refund, with partial refunds for those whose breaks will be shorter than booked. *PA*

NHS leaders ask government to pay for bank holiday costs

Leaders of the NHS have called on the government to compensate health services because the Queen's funeral bank holiday means they must pay staff who are working more. As well as having to rearrange appointments and procedures, leaders have warned the bank holiday will mean additional staffing costs and want the government to reimburse services “in full”.

In emails seen by *The Independent*, several trusts have confirmed staff able to work on the bank holiday would get the usual enhanced pay rates and days in lieu. Dr Layla McCay, director of policy at the NHS Confederation, said: “As different rates of payment are given to frontline health and care staff for working over bank holidays, NHS leaders are awaiting confirmation from the government that this additional cost will be compensated in full.”

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Is the right to protest under threat? The laws examined



Anti-royalist protesters demonstrate against the way they are being policed in Edinburgh (AFP via Getty)

LIZZIE DEARDEN

HOME AFFAIRS EDITOR

Several anti-monarchy protesters have been arrested or spoken to by police in the UK, sparking questions about the laws around freedom of speech. Different laws, including “breach of the peace” in Scotland and the Public Order Act in England, have

been used in arrests linked to commemorations of the Queen's death and the proclamation of the King.

A man who heckled Prince Andrew as he followed the Queen's cortege in Edinburgh on Monday is among those arrested, along with a woman holding up an "abolish monarchy" sign at a proclamation ceremony the previous day. At least four people have so far been charged in relation to anti-monarchy protests in Scotland, while in England one man has been arrested and other demonstrators have been questioned or moved on by police.

The response has provoked alarm from human rights groups, and saw Conservative MP David Davis write to the chief constable of Police Scotland urging officers to "respect the right to free speech".

"I speak as a strong monarchist, but nevertheless I hope that members of the public will remain free to share their opinions and protest in regard to issues about which they feel strongly," he added.

The National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC), which covers forces across the UK, said guidance had been issued aiming to ensure "a consistency of approach" as events relating to the Queen's death take place in different locations.

A spokesperson added: "The ability to protest is a fundamental part of democracy and it is a long-established right in this country. We know some people want to protest on a range of issues during this time of national mourning and officers must balance these rights against those who wish to grieve and reflect."

The NPCC said each protest had to be assessed on its unique circumstances and that "all groups or causes are treated impartially".

What are the rights to protest?

Everyone has a right to protest in the UK, which is protected by the Human Rights Act. The 1998 law, which enshrines the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), was set to be repealed and replaced by the government but work on a new

“Bill of Rights” – a pet project of former justice secretary Dominic Raab – has been shelved by Liz Truss.

The key parts that protect protesters are articles 10 and 11; the rights to freedom of expression and freedom of assembly and association. Article 10 states that “everyone has the right to freedom of expression”, covering the right to hold opinions and impart ideas and information “without interference by public authority”.

The ECHR makes clear that the right is not unqualified, and can be lawfully constrained for reasons including national security, public safety, health protection and preventing crime and disorder.

Article 11 states that “everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly”, adding: “No restrictions shall be placed on the exercise of these rights other than such as are prescribed by law and necessary in a democratic society.” It says the article does not “prevent the imposition of lawful restrictions ... by members of the police or the administration of the state”.

The law means that protest can be limited by police and the government, but only in ways that are aligned with the ECHR. Numerous legal challenges arising from specific incidents and government policies have resulted in a significant amount of British case law showing that competing rights and “legitimate aims” must be balanced when limiting a person’s human rights.

How can the right to protest be limited?

There are several pieces of legislation across the UK that can be applied to protest or have been drawn up directly to manage demonstrations. Some are wide-ranging, such as the Public Order Act 1986, while others, such as measures in the new Police, Crime, Courts and Sentencing Act, were designed with specific types of protest in mind.



Police talk to a protester before the accession proclamation ceremony for King Charles III in Edinburgh (PA)

Many of the principles at work pre-date individual pieces of legislation and were built on centuries-old common law and conventions. The front page of the Public Order Act, for example, states that it aims to “abolish the common law offences of riot, rout, unlawful assembly and affray” and create statutory offences in their stead.

What powers can be used against protesters?

The most commonly used police powers relating to protest arise from the Public Order Act 1986, which covers the whole of the UK.

Police can arrest people for “threatening or abusive words or behaviour, or disorderly behaviour, or displaying any writing, sign or other visible representation which is threatening or abusive within the hearing or sight of a person likely to be caused harassment, alarm or distress”.

If prosecuted, offenders can be fined up to £1,000. Critics have said the law’s wording is too vague and allows subjective judgements by police and prosecutors that infringe on freedom of speech.

A man was arrested in Oxford after calling out “Who elected him?” at a proclamation ceremony for the new King, but was later de-arrested by police. Several anti-monarchy protesters

were arrested in Scotland under a different power – breach of the peace.

The common law offence is not widely enforced in England and Wales, and legal difficulties around its interpretation caused the Scottish government to create a new offence in 2010.



A man makes his feelings about the monarchy known at a public proclamation at the accession of King Charles III (AP)

Section 38 of the Criminal Justice and Licensing (Scotland) Act, which has been used to charge republican protesters originally arrested for breach of the peace in Edinburgh, criminalises threatening or abusive behaviour “likely to cause a reasonable person to suffer fear or alarm”.

Those convicted can be sentenced to up to five years’ imprisonment, or given a fine. People prosecuted with the separate common law “breach of the peace” offence in Scotland face a maximum penalty of a 60-day prison sentence or a fine of up to £2,500.

Another law commonly used against protesters is obstructing the highway, contrary to section 137 of the Highways Act 1980, which makes it a crime to block a road without “lawful authority or excuse”. A landmark legal challenge brought by arms trade protesters saw the Supreme Court declare that protest can be a “lawful excuse” to block roads, sparking cases against climate

campaigners, Extinction Rebellion, and HS2 protesters to be dropped or overturned.

A June 2021 ruling added: “There should be a certain degree of tolerance to disruption to ordinary life, including disruption of traffic, caused by the exercise of the right to freedom of expression or freedom of peaceful assembly. There must be an assessment of the facts in each individual case to determine whether the interference with article 10 or article 11 rights was ‘necessary in a democratic society’.”

A spectrum of other crimes has been used in response to illegal conduct by protesters, such as criminal damage and stirring up racial hatred.

What limits can be applied to protests?

The Public Order Act allows the police to impose conditions, such as requiring specific routes, timings or logistical arrangements for protests that may result in serious disorder, disruption or damage to property.

People who break those conditions can be arrested and fined. Parts of the Police, Crime, Courts and Sentencing Act, which came into force in June, lowered the threshold for conditions to be imposed and for breaches to be enforced.

It allowed conditions to be imposed on demonstrations if the noise generated caused “serious disruption” or has a “significant impact” on anyone nearby. The power to impose restrictions was extended from moving processions to static assemblies and protests by a lone person. The act also created a new offence of “intentionally or recklessly causing public nuisance”, including “serious annoyance”, punishable by up to 10 years in prison.



Extinction Rebellion activists outside Southwark Crown Court after being cleared of criminal damage (PA)

Previously, police conditions had to be broken “knowingly” for an offence to be committed, but the word was removed so people can be charged if they “ought to know a condition has been imposed”. The maximum sentence for failing to comply with conditions was increased from three months to a year.

The government said the measures were necessary to combat “highly disruptive and sometimes incredibly dangerous” protests, naming Extinction Rebellion and other environmental groups, but has since brought forward even more restrictive proposals in a separate Public Order Bill.

Proposals in that batch of laws would create “serious disruption prevention orders” to restrict individual protesters – even if they have not committed a crime – from locking themselves to buildings and infrastructure, making it a criminal offence, and allow the suspicionless stop and search of protesters for items that could be used for that purpose.

The new bill would create offences of interfering with key national infrastructure or obstructing major transport works, punishable by imprisonment. It is being scrutinised in the House of Commons, after being voted through by Conservative and Democratic Unionist Party MPs despite opposition from all other parties.

Parliament's Joint Committee on Human Rights accused the government of trying to create "new powers in areas where the police already have access to powers and offences which are perfectly adequate".

A June 2021 report added: "Peaceful protests are by their nature liable to cause serious annoyance and inconvenience, and criminalising such behaviour may dissuade individuals from participating. Offences are already available under existing laws."

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Just misses the sweet spot

The latest season of 'The Great British Bake Off' has all the ingredients you'd expect, but that's the problem. There's too much cake and not enough originality, writes **Sean O'Grady**



Note quite a Baker's dozen: this year's cast is as diverse as ever (Channel 4)

★★★☆☆

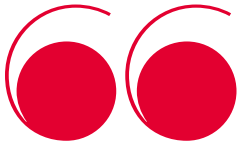
It's back then, and it's probably just as well. Such is the comforting power of *The Great British Bake Off* (Channel 4); it seems unthinkable it would have been cancelled or postponed merely because the Queen had passed on. Indeed, that very fact, and the emotional trauma it has inflicted on a nation and a Commonwealth of about 2.5 billion people, makes it imperative

that judges Prue Leith and Paul Hollywood and their sweetly charming contestants get the mixing bowl out to salve the collective hurt.

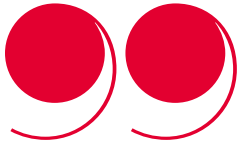
This they cheerfully attended to with lavish application of buttercream and lame jokes. In the *GBBO* tent, nestled in its warm, exquisitely verdant setting, the real world, and its horrors feel far, far away. No one ever asks aloud how much the gas bill will be for making 168 cakes, or remarks on how much the price of flour and raisins has gone up lately. There is no cost of living crisis in Bakeoffland, and that is how we like it. Even if we can't afford to make an apple strudel or a Belgian bun, it's nice to watch people who can indulge themselves. If you think about it, it's also the basic attraction of most things the royal family gets up to.

Anyway, cakes and contestants. Once again it features a multicultural and socially mixed cast so diverse it almost invites Nigel Farage to come down and picket the tent. Myself, I can't see the problem with the ever more diverse background of the contestants and their correspondingly adventurous creations. In the "showstopper" round, the 12 bakers are asked to make cakes based on their own homes or somewhere they have lived.

Maisam made one inspired by the lemon trees around her childhood home in Libya, Abdul's had some mango jam recalling his origins in Pakistan, and Syabira's Malaysian ingredients were unknown to me. Janusz – he's the star baker in this first episode and my tip for this year's winner – crafted such a superbly detailed reproduction of his mum's place in Poland it looked like an architectural model and rightly helped him to victory as star baker in the first round.



Paul just looks bored now – a man who’s tasted all the amateur red velvet cake he ever needs to. Sadly, he seems to have mislaid the recipe for his own signature dish of lightly spun spicy scorn



So that was all very refreshing and mouth-watering, but the presenters and judges were, well, a bit claggy – a word that cropped up a lot in this edition. Matt Lucas seems to have lost his sense of humour and think I prefer Noel Fielding when he moped around the worktops like a lurcher looking for scraps. He’s chirpier these days, and it just doesn’t suit him. His new persona is about as appealing as Marmite in a baklava – and don’t tell me that’s a way of achieving umami, though I’ll take the credit if it is.

Prue is as kindly, fair-minded and expert as ever, but Paul just looks bored now – a man who’s tasted all the amateur red velvet cake he ever needs to. Sadly, he seems to have mislaid the recipe for his own signature dish of lightly spun spicy scorn, and how we miss it.

Rather like her late Majesty, the *GBBO* has had a very long run, and it’s much loved – how could we cope without it? But I’m thinking *Bake Off*, like the monarchy, needs to adapt to retain its appeal. There are too many contestants making too many cakes, strange to say, which makes viewing harder work than it needs to be, and, if I were king, I’d bring back Mel and Sue and their merciless innuendo. For now, it’s all getting a bit claggy in the big marquee.

Season 13 of 'The Great British Bake Off' airs a new episode every Tuesday at 8pm on Channel 4

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Chancellor's plan could take 'a decade' to achieve



An expected 'sugar rush' of tax cuts by Kwasi Kwarteng might knock growth off track by forcing up inflation and interest rates, economists warn (Getty)

ANDREW WOODCOCK

POLITICAL EDITOR

Kwasi Kwarteng's target of 2.5 per cent annual GDP growth could be knocked off course by his own tax cuts expected in next week's emergency Budget, economists have warned.

Delivering sustainable growth at the level sought by the chancellor would mean a sharp departure from previous Conservative austerity, with long-term investment in education, training and skills, reforms to the tax and planning systems and incentives for business that would only gradually produce results, they told *The Independent*.

However, experts believe rumoured tax cuts would lead to a “sugar rush” of demand that is more likely to deliver higher inflation and interest rate rises. Mr Kwarteng told Treasury staff after his appointment last week that he wants his department to focus “entirely on growth”, arguing that returning to the 2.5 per cent trend of the period before the 2008 financial crisis would allow the UK to bear down on its ballooning national debt.

The intervention by economists comes after criticism by prime minister Liz Truss of “Treasury orthodoxy” and “abacus economics”, which put balancing the books ahead of wealth generation. But Paul Johnson, director of the Institute for Fiscal Studies said it was “bizarre” to blame Treasury officials, rather than the decisions taken by politicians to rein in infrastructure investment, cut back spending on skills and withdraw from the EU’s single market.

“The Treasury was the department that delivered big spending increases when Blair and Brown were in charge,” he said. “The thing that changed was the political leadership, not the civil service. If this is a new form of political leadership, which is putting more focus on growth, then good. Growth is really, really important. But it’s a bizarre thing to blame it on Treasury orthodoxy, as opposed to the decisions that politicians have been making over the last period.” Mr Johnson said that “politically brave decisions” would be required for the government to have an impact on GDP growth, and it would take time for the impact to be felt.

“You cannot get sustainable growth of 2.5 per cent this year or next year or the year after,” he said. “These are long-term things. You could probably bounce growth up next year by spending a whole pile of money and maybe by cutting taxes, but that is not a sustainable route to growth.



Truss and the chancellor want to overhaul 'Treasury orthodoxy' (PA)

“If you set about a really determined and coherent strategy over the next five years, then I think you could impact on the rate of growth by the end of the decade in a way that is genuinely measurable. But he’s at least giving the impression that he thinks you can achieve that a lot more quickly.”

James Smith, research director of the Resolution Foundation think tank agreed it would be a “multi-year challenge” to turn round the UK’s sluggish growth, which the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has forecast will slump to zero in 2023. The international organisation has indicated significant room for improvement in the UK, which has productivity 10 per cent below and GDP per capita 16 per cent below the OECD’s best performers.

“It’s right for the government to focus on raising growth, it’s right in terms of living standards and a diagnosis of what the country needs,” said Mr Smith. “But it’s easier said than done. This is not something they’re going to be able to do overnight. It’s not something that one set of tax cuts will achieve. It’s about having a coordinated strategy that links building on the UK’s strengths in areas like services with skills policy, competition policy, trade policy – all in a coherent way.

“You would be talking about a period of five to 10 years in terms of generating that sort of improvement, even if you have a genuinely large-scale cohesive programme.” Mr Kwarteng might be able to deliver a “demand sugar rush” with tax cuts in next

week's fiscal event, but this is more likely to deliver higher inflation and interest rate rises than the kind of sustained improvements to GDP the country needs, he argued.

Nobel prize-winning economist Professor Sir Christopher Pissarides of the London School of Economics said it was "old fashioned" for the Treasury to be targeting growth rates which it has little direct means of influencing. "Whether he can succeed, I'm doubtful," he said. "In fact, I think that the numbers are unrealistic, but even more unrealistic is the idea that that the Treasury will have targets for GDP growth.

"It shouldn't have that. It should be addressing the other issues in the labour market and the overall economy that are about investment and job creation. Once you do those, then the economy will give you the rate of growth that it can support."

Prof Pissarides, who chairs the Institute for the Future of Work, said ministers should be addressing the gap in the UK labour market between low-pay, low-satisfaction jobs at the bottom and enormous rewards for those benefiting from the introduction of new technologies at the top.

The polarisation of rewards was driving large numbers of people to opt out of the job market in a way that was a drag on growth, he said. "I wouldn't be cutting taxes," he said. "If they took that money and they spent it on job creation, and support measures for new technology in small businesses, it would have a much bigger impact. Technology is the big factor that we need to influence now – the adoption of digital technologies, artificial intelligence, robotics. Britain is behind its main competitors in all this."

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Kwarteng ‘orthodoxy’ purge in Treasury is an odd tactic



In the mini-Budget, the new chancellor will be doing the equivalent of trying to land a plane in fog having turned off the radar (Reuters)

JOHN RENTOUL

CHIEF POLITICAL COMMENTATOR

Kwasi Kwarteng, the chancellor, is going to deliver a financial statement in parliament next week, squeezed between the Queen’s funeral and the Labour Party conference. His people

say it will be “limited in scope”, repeating the plan to freeze energy prices announced by the prime minister last week and announcing the tax cuts that she promised during the Conservative leadership campaign.

It will be a statement of self-belief by our new government because Kwarteng has sacked Sir Tom Scholar, the top Treasury civil servant, and he has refused to ask the independent Office for Budget Responsibility (OBR) for its forecasts of the economy and the effect of the new policies on it.

Sir Tom was popular in the Treasury and experienced; his abrupt departure has provoked outrage from the mandarin class. Lord Macpherson and Lord O'Donnell, his predecessors, have protested. Even if civil servants are out of tune with a new government, they are usually given a little time to be put to the test.

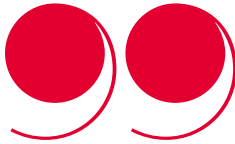
But in this case, it is unclear what Sir Tom is out of tune with. Liz Truss's leadership campaign rhetoric against “Treasury orthodoxy” never actually spelt out what she thought that orthodoxy was. Sometimes it seemed to be the Treasury's alleged obsession with balancing the books; and at other times, it was the Treasury's more recent devotion to “Gordon Brown economics”, of using public spending to keep people in jobs after an economic shock.

Given that the second is precisely what Truss and Kwarteng propose to do, it must be the first, which has not been Treasury orthodoxy for 80 years, except in George Osborne's time, so perhaps this is just an internal Tory civil war.

It may be that Kwarteng doesn't mean anything by it at all. On Monday, he addressed all Treasury officials on a conference call, praised Sir Tom's record and said the Treasury had been an “excellent finance ministry”. Perhaps Sir Tom's departure is a pointless sacrifice designed to satisfy the gods of grassroots Toryism, just as Kwarteng's instruction to the Treasury that it must “do things differently” and focus “entirely on growth” are empty words designed to give the impression of a fresh start.



What is important about next week's statement – apart from the detail on how businesses, public bodies and charities are going to have their energy bills supported – is what will happen next



Certainly, there must be Treasury officials who, after that conference call, were smacking their foreheads and exclaiming: “Of course! We should focus on growth. Why has nobody thought of that before?” Sacking its popular, impartial leader and being rude about its “orthodoxy” doesn’t seem to be a good way to get the best out of an organisation, but Treasury officials are professional enough to get on with the job – which does of course include such boring things as making the sums add up and trying to make sure that public spending is value for money.

But Kwarteng will be doing the equivalent next week of trying to land a plane in fog having turned off the radar because he refused to ask the OBR for its forecasts. This was despite Richard Hughes, its chair, saying before the end of the Tory leadership contest that it was doing the preparatory work that would allow it to produce a full forecast on “14 or 21 September”.

Kwarteng ignored him, prompting the *Financial Times* to observe acidly: “Despite having by law to publish two OBR forecasts each financial year, it has yet to be confirmed that ministers will seek an official forecast from the body this autumn.”

That means there will be no independent backing for any estimates that the Treasury will produce, and which Kwarteng

will announce, for the cost of the government's energy price plan. What makes this more incomprehensible is that the Truss-Kwarteng plan may well be the right policy for the wrong reasons. Even Paul Johnson, director of the Institute for Fiscal Studies, who has been fiercely critical of Truss's "fairytale" economics, accepted on Monday that the price freeze "might be necessary this year", although it is "incredibly expensive".

What is important about next week's statement – apart from the detail on how businesses, public bodies and charities are going to have their energy bills supported – is what Kwarteng says about what will happen next. How long will this untargeted approach, which "gives large amounts of money to people who don't need it", in Paul Johnson's words, last? And how will the permanent loss of revenue from "reversing" the national insurance rise and cancelling the corporation tax increase be sustained?

So far, Kwarteng's answer is to set a target for the economy to grow by 2.5 per cent a year and to refuse to hear from anybody who might tell him that this is pie in the sky.

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Pestminster inquiries halted due to death of the Queen



The decision has been criticised because it will ‘prolong a process that many staff already find to be excessively difficult and lengthy’ (Getty)

ROB MERRICK

DEPUTY POLITICAL EDITOR

Investigations into alleged misconduct by MPs and parliamentary staff have been halted because of the Queen’s

death, triggering criticism.

The Independent Complaints and Grievance Scheme (ICGS) – set up after the bullying scandal that rocked Westminster in 2018 – has told alleged victims that its work has been “paused”. Similarly, the standards commissioner, Kathryn Stone, who oversees the MPs’ code of conduct, said her office’s work had been “suspended to observe the period of national mourning”. The GMB union criticised the move by the ICGS, warning it might “prolong a process that many staff already find to be excessively difficult and lengthy”.

Jenny Symmons, chair of its branch for parliamentary staff, said: “We’ve expressed our disappointment to the director of the ICGS in pausing their investigations. MPs’ staff will continue to work during the mourning period and serving constituents, so we believe their bullying, harassment or sexual misconduct cases should be progressed by the ICGS in the same way.”

The Queen’s state funeral will not take place until next Monday, which means a delay of at least one week until the national period of mourning will end. Parliament is not expected to resume sitting until Wednesday next week at the earliest and it could take longer for business to return to normal. Jo Willows, the director of the ICGS, did not provide a reason for the decision to pause investigations, telling alleged victims: “I shall let you know when investigations will resume.” She directed anyone needing support urgently to a helpline and to her office’s casework and inclusion officer.

The ICGS has been investigating the alleged groping of two men by the former deputy chief whip Chris Pincher, the scandal that forced Boris Johnson out of office. Both the ICGS and the standards commissioner have ongoing inquiries into David Warburton, the Conservative MP suspended over allegations of sexual harassment and cocaine use. Ms Stone is investigating whether he broke the MPs’ code of conduct through “paid advocacy”, failure to declare an interest, and whether rules concerning the declaration of “gifts, benefits and hospitality” were broken. Her website lists three other ongoing inquiries,

into the Tory MPs Andrew Bridgen and Crispin Blunt and the Labour MP Ian Byrne.

No 10 has said it expects government business to return “more to normal” after Monday’s funeral, although royal mourning will continue. Liz Truss is expected to fly to New York for the UN leaders’ meeting as early as Monday evening, returning to the UK late on Wednesday or early Thursday. That would allow her promised mini-Budget to be held on Thursday next week before parliament breaks up again for the Labour and Conservative Party conferences.

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Decarbonising the energy system could save trillions



Switching to fossil-free sources could increase output by 55 per cent, say Oxford University researchers (Getty)

HARRY COCKBURN

ENVIRONMENT CORRESPONDENT

The tumbling cost of renewable energy means transitioning away from fossil fuels over the next 30 years will save the world

“at least \$12 trillion”, according to researchers at the University of Oxford.

The decarbonisation of the energy system will not only see a major reduction in the cost of producing and distributing energy but will also allow for greater levels of energy to be produced. This will help expand energy access around the planet. The faster the transition to renewables occurs, the greater the potential for savings, the team found. They urged governments to recognise the enormous boost to the global economy that abandoning fossil fuels will bring about.

“There is a pervasive misconception that switching to clean, green energy will be painful, costly and mean sacrifices for us all – but that’s just wrong,” said Professor Doyne Farmer, who leads the team that conducted the study at the Institute for New Economic Thinking at the Oxford Martin School. “Renewable costs have been trending down for decades. They are already cheaper than fossil fuels in many situations and, our research shows, they will become cheaper than fossil fuels across almost all applications in the years to come.”

He added: “If we accelerate the transition, they will become cheaper faster. Completely replacing fossil fuels with clean energy by 2050 will save us trillions.”

The research has been released as Liz Truss’s administration announced a major push for fossil fuels – ending a ban on fracking and planning to “drill every last drop of oil” from the North Sea, according to her new energy secretary Jacob Rees-Mogg. One scenario the Oxford team explored – titled the “fast transition” – shows “a realistic possible future” for a fossil-free energy system by around 2050. In this scenario, the world would have 55 per cent more energy services than exist today and would be achieved by ramping up solar, wind, batteries, electric vehicles and clean fuels such as green hydrogen made from renewable electricity.

“Past models, predicting high costs for transitioning to zero carbon energy, have deterred companies from investing, and made governments nervous about setting policies that will

accelerate the energy transition and cut reliance on fossil fuels,” said lead author of the study, Dr Rupert Way, a postdoctoral researcher at Oxford’s Smith School of Enterprise and the Environment. “But clean energy costs have fallen sharply over the last decade, much faster than those models expected.”

He added: “Our latest research shows scaling up key green technologies will continue to drive their costs down – and the faster we go, the more we will save. Accelerating the transition to renewable energy is now the best bet not just for the planet, but for energy costs too.”

The research team analysed thousands of transition cost scenarios produced by major energy models and examined data on 45 years of solar energy costs, 37 years of wind energy costs and 25 years of battery storage. They said the research reveals that the real cost of solar energy dropped twice as fast as the most ambitious projections in these models, revealing that, over the past 20 years, previous models “badly overestimated the future costs” of renewable energy technology compared to the reality of cheap renewables we are already seeing today.

The research also suggests nuclear power will play a diminishing role in the future global energy mix due to the rising costs of building reactors. “The costs of nuclear have consistently increased over the last five decades, making it highly unlikely to be cost competitive with plunging renewable and storage costs,” the researchers said.

Meanwhile, the study showed the costs for storage technologies, such as batteries and hydrogen electrolysis, are also likely to fall dramatically. Though the study was carried out before Russia’s invasion of Ukraine and the resultant surge in energy prices, such fluctuations were accounted for by using over a century’s worth of fossil fuel price data, the team said.

But in light of the war, the team said: “The current energy crisis underscores the study’s findings and demonstrates the risks of continuing to rely on expensive, insecure, fossil fuels. The research confirms the response to the crisis should include accelerating the transition to low cost, clean energy as soon as

possible, as this will bring benefits both for the economy and the planet.”

Prof Farmer added: “The world is facing a simultaneous inflation crisis, national security crisis and climate crisis, all caused by our dependence on high-cost, insecure, polluting fossil fuels with volatile prices. This study shows ambitious policies to accelerate dramatically the transition to a clean energy future as quickly as possible are not only urgently needed for climate reasons, but can save the world trillions in future energy costs, giving us a cleaner, cheaper, more energy-secure future.”

The research is published in the journal *Foule*.

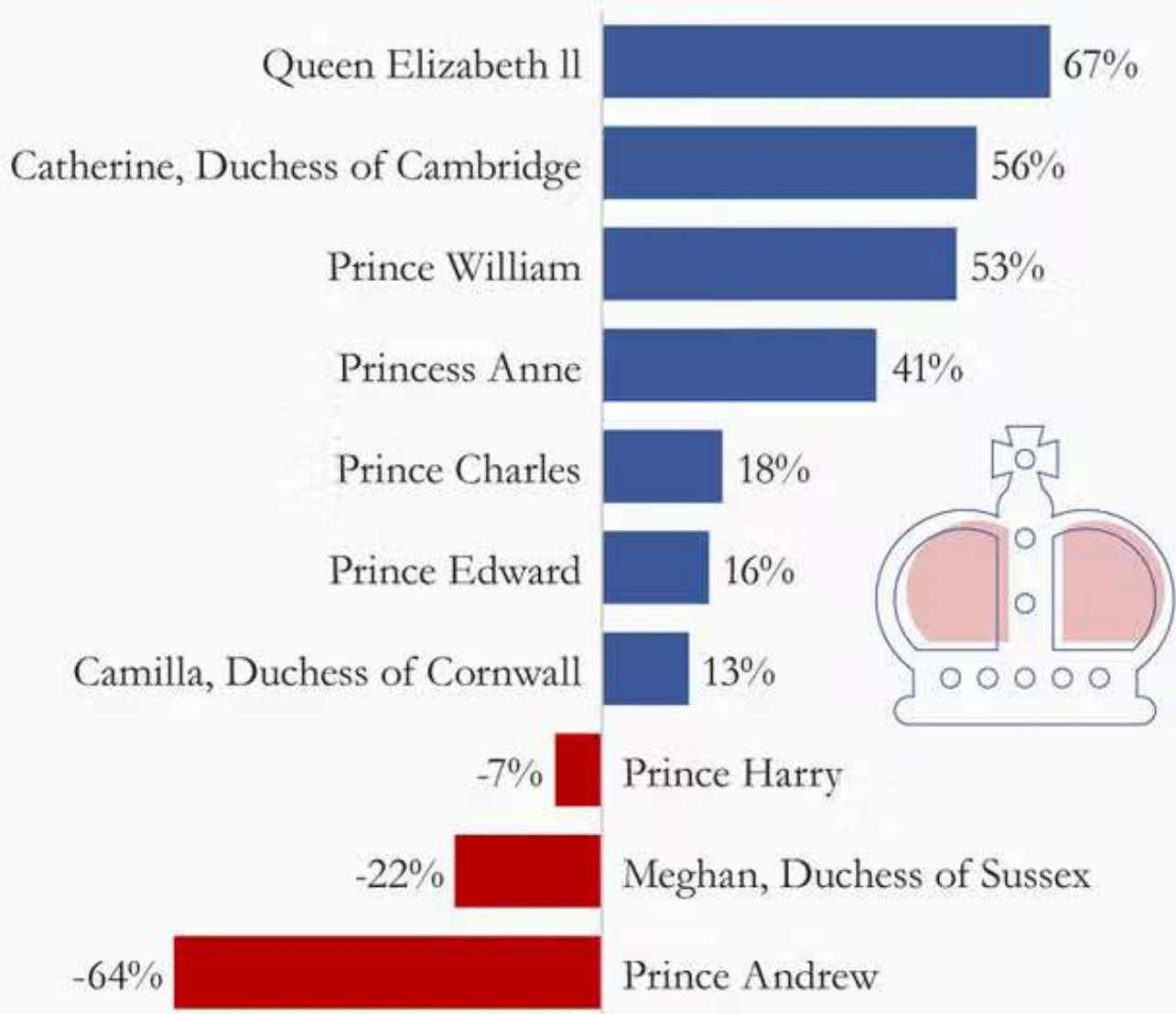
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By Numbers Crown's jewels

Net favourability of selected British royal family members in the second quarter of this year



Names and titles correct at time of survey.

Net favourability = share saying they have a positive opinion minus share saying they have a negative opinion.

Source: YouGov



Pictures of the Day



Still waters

A man steers his boat on Dal Lake during sunset in Srinagar.

AFP/Getty



Painting a picture

A man dressed as Hindu deity Lord Shiva walks across Howrah bridge in Kolkata. *AFP/Getty*



High art

An acrobat performs during the presentation of the show *Luzia* by the Cirque du Soleil in Madrid, Spain. *EPA*



Thou shall pass

A thick layer of ice that has covered a Swiss mountain pass between Scex Rouge glacier and Tsanfleuron glacier since at least the Roman era has melted away completely, following a dry winter and summer heatwaves. *AFP/Getty*



Hand of god

A woman places a flower on the hand of a Buddha statue during the Pchum Ben festival (Festival of Death) at a pagoda in Phnom Penh. *AFP/Getty*

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Home news in brief



Politician Margaret Ferrier travelled across the UK at the height of the pandemic despite knowing she was Covid-19 positive (PA)

MP sentenced for breaking coronavirus rules

An MP who took a train from London to Scotland after learning she had tested positive for Covid was sentenced yesterday to a 270-hour community order for breaking virus rules. Margaret Ferrier admitted putting people at risk by visiting a number of locations in Glasgow after taking a Covid test. She must complete the 270-hour community “payback” order within nine months. Imposing the order at Glasgow Sheriff Court, Sheriff Principal Craig Turnbull told the MP: “The public rightly expect the people elected to represent them to set an example. You

wilfully ignored the rules and did not isolate. Having tested positive you wilfully disregarded guidance and travelled by train.”

After visiting shops in Glasgow, the independent MP for Rutherglen and Hamilton West then travelled by train to London, where she spoke in the Houses of Parliament while awaiting the result of her Covid test. After learning she had tested positive for the virus, Ferrier then took the train back home to Glasgow. Ferrier, 62, admitted she had culpably and recklessly exposed the public “to the risk of infection, illness and death” at a hearing at Glasgow Sheriff Court last month.

Met Police officer charged with 13 child sex offences

A serving Metropolitan Police officer has been charged with sexual activity with an underage girl, taking indecent images of children and other child sex offences. PC Hussain Chehab, based in the North Area Basic Command Unit, is accused of a total of 13 crimes. A spokesperson for Scotland Yard said he was arrested in July 2021 and charged yesterday.

PC Chehab is accused of four counts of sexual activity with a girl aged between 13 and 15, five counts of making indecent images of a child, taking indecent images of children, engaging in sexual communication with a child, distributing indecent images of a child and encouraging or assisting in the distribution of indecent images of children. The offences are alleged to have occurred between 2019 and 2021.

Couple jailed after five-year-old forced to take ice-cold bath

A couple have been jailed after torturing their five-year-old girl “almost to death” by forcing her to lay down in an ice-cold bath for hours. The girl’s mother Georgia Newman, 29, and stepfather Jordan Michael Kilkenny, 29, made the child lie in the bath for up to three hours for misbehaving, a court heard. Leeds Crown Court was told that when she became unresponsive, they tried to warm her up before eventually calling 999.

When the paramedics got to the property in Leeds, West Yorkshire, the young girl was unconscious, blue in appearance and frothing at the mouth. She later suffered a seizure and was put on a ventilator with doctors fully expecting her not to survive. Against the odds, she made a full recovery and now lives with her biological father. Newman was jailed for three years and six months while Kilkenny received a sentence of three years and four months in prison. *SWNS*

Pollution could increase risk of allergies in newborn

Exposure to air pollution can increase the risk of allergies, obesity, diabetes, and influence brain development in newborn babies, a study shows. Researchers at Colorado University Boulder say there is a link between inhaled pollutants – such as those from traffic, wildfires, and industry – and changes in infant microbial health during the first six months of life. “This study adds to the growing body of literature showing that air pollution exposure, even during infancy, may alter the gut microbiome, with important implications for growth and development,” said senior author Tanya Alderete, the university’s assistant professor of Integrative Physiology.

Hundreds attend funeral of Archie Battersbee

Hundreds of mourners gathered yesterday to pay their respects to schoolboy Archie Battersbee, who died following a legal battle over his life support treatment. The 12-year-old’s parents fought to keep him alive after he was found unconscious at his home in Essex but he died on 6 August after his life support was withdrawn.

Family and friends packed out St Mary’s Church in Prittlewell, Southend-on-Sea, as they came together for the youngster’s funeral service. Mourners who attended wore black with flashes of purple, at the request of Archie’s family, while his silver coffin arrived in a hearse drawn by four black horses with purple headwear.

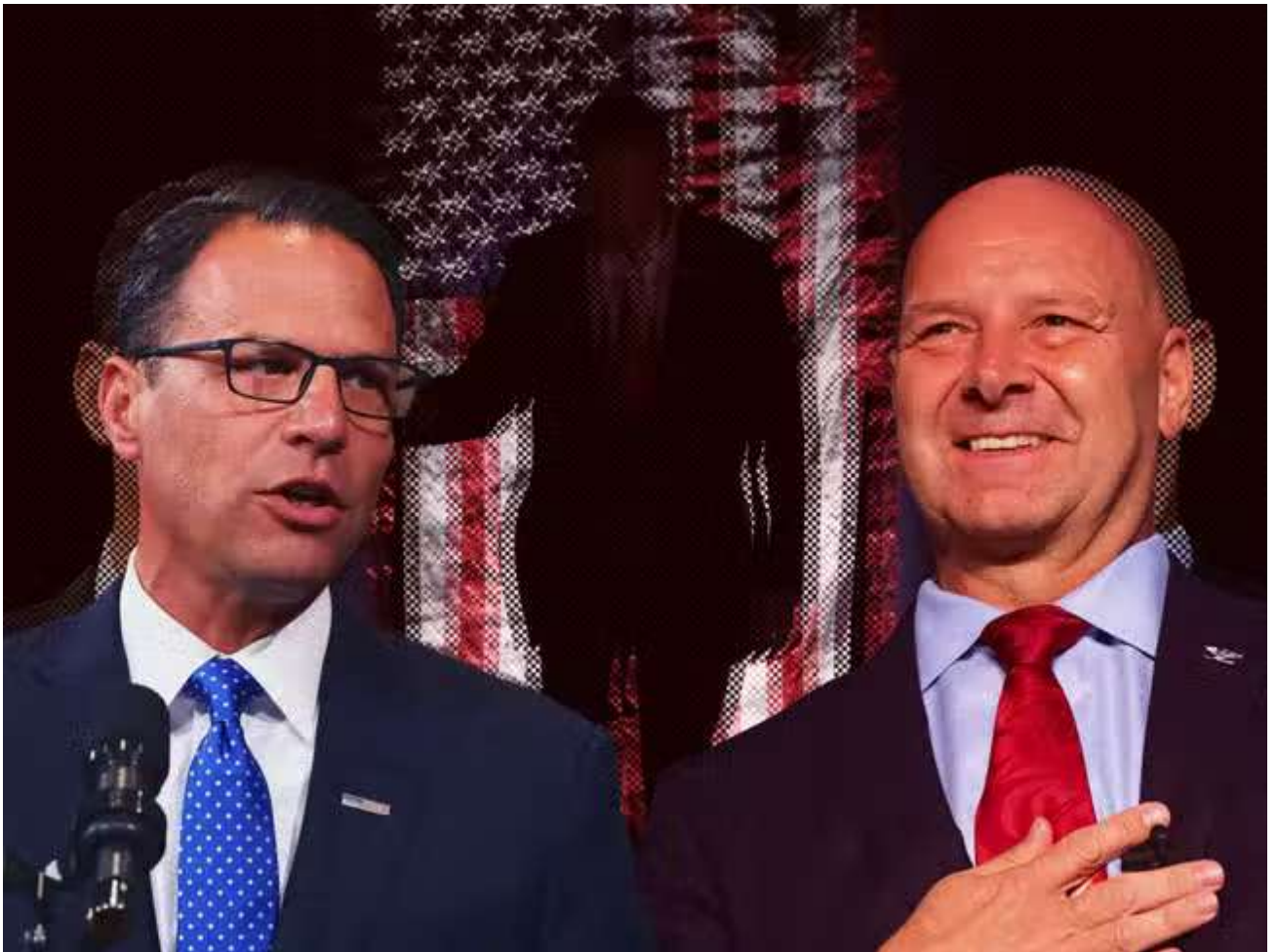
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Pennsylvania's governor race could pave the way for Trump's return in 2024



Josh Shapiro and Doug Mastriano are battling it out (Getty/Reuters/The Independent)

ERIC GARCIA

IN WILKES-BARRE, PENNSYLVANIA

In the weeks that followed the 2020 presidential election, Josh Shapiro and Doug Mastriano were on opposing sides of former president Donald Trump's attempts to overturn the presidential election in Pennsylvania.

As a state senator, Mastriano was one of the biggest promoters of the lie that the election was stolen. He requested and organised a public hearing into nonexistent voter fraud in the days that featured Trump's attorney Rudy Giuliani. He also spent \$3,354 busing people to Washington for Trump's Jan 6 rally and went to the US Capitol, though he claimed to have left before the violent riot started. In the days leading up to the certification of election results, he was part of a group of Republican state senators who asked for Congress to delay the certification of election results.

Conversely, as Pennsylvania's attorney general, Shapiro was responsible for fighting the multiple lawsuits that Trump's team brought to challenge the election results. At an event in Scranton last Saturday, Shapiro talked about how he pushed back against Trump, noting how Trump "sued me" 43 times. "I don't mind getting sued, but understand why he sued," Shapiro told supporters at a Democratic office opening on Biden street. "He sued me to make sure that your vote wouldn't count."

The two men – one of who sought to overturn the 2020 presidential election results and sent buses of people to Washington, and one who pushed back – are now the respective Republican and Democratic nominees to replace term-limited governor Tom Wolf. But Mastriano's extremism means that if he wins, he could use his power as governor to subvert the results of a future presidential election.

The predicament is not unique to Pennsylvania. In Arizona, Republican gubernatorial nominee Kari Lake earned the support of the former president and has called for the decertification of the 2020 presidential election results. She is running against Katie Hobbs, the Democratic secretary of state who oversaw the election amid Republican disinformation efforts. Michigan's Democratic secretary of state Jocelyn Benson who also faced

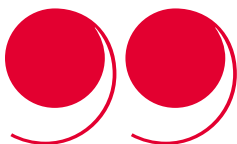
harassment as a result of her oversight of the 2020 election is running against Kristina Karamo, an election denier.

Pennsylvania is unique from most other states because of the fact that it does not elect its secretary of state, usually the main officer who oversees elections in a state. Rather, the governor appoints them. Mastriano did not respond to requests for an interview. But in an interview with Steve Bannon in April, Mastriano laid out his plans for his secretary of state.

“I get to appoint the secretary of state and I have a voting reform-minded individual who’s been travelling the nation and it was going to perform extremely well,” he said. “That individual has agreed to be my secretary of state. I’m going to have, of course, a team around that individual.” That concerns Richard Pildes, a professor of constitutional law at New York University.



It would certainly create tremendous chaos and the destabilisation of the election process, even if the courts did eventually make certain that the lawful winner of the election is actually certified



“There certainly are concerns, particularly in important states like Pennsylvania, that if people get into these critical positions who reject the lawfulness of the 2020 election, there is great concern about what they might do in 2024,” he told *The Independent*.

Pildes said that a secretary of state or governor refusing to certify the legally valid winner of an election would immediately

be challenged in court, but that does not mean that governors could not create chaos in the meantime. “Both state courts and federal courts would be available for that challenge,” he said. “But it would certainly create tremendous chaos [and the] destabilisation of the election process, even if the courts did eventually make certain that the lawful winner of the election is actually certified.”

But Mastriano’s plans go far beyond that as the chief executive in Pennsylvania. “As governor, I get to decertify any or all machines in the state. Obviously, I have my eyes on several counties that have had machines that I believe are compromised,” he told Bannon.

Shapiro has flagged Mastriano’s policies as potentially dangerous, adding that it’s part of his larger pattern of receiving support from white supremacists and antisemites like the founder of right-wing social media network Gab and his actions at the US Capitol. “He was storming the Capitol with a violent mob trying to stop your vote from being counted,” he said at the event in Scranton. “Then he marches to the Capitol to stop your vote from being counted. And now he’s saying he’s going to decertify voting machines in order to stop in order to pick the winner he wants. That’s not how democracy works.”

Matthew Seligman, a fellow at the Constitutional Law Center at Stanford University, said that it is important to take Mastriano’s words seriously. “I think that with that particular candidate, I think there’s really no room to think, well, this might be just heated campaign rhetoric to appeal to a base for a primary campaign,” he told *The Independent*. “He’s already demonstrated that he’s willing to take extreme action to subvert election results.”

Seligman said the concerns about a governor breaking with the will of the people emphasises the need to reform the Electoral Count Act, which governs how the electoral votes are counted. The 1887 law received increased attention after January when former vice president Mike Pence decided against overturning the election results despite Trump’s wishes for him to do so. That has triggered a bipartisan group of senators has come up

with a framework to reform the law to explicitly make the role of the vice president solely ministerial to ensure that cannot be an option. Senators Susan Collins, a Republican, and Joe Manchin, a Democrat, have led the negotiations.

“The existing Electoral Accounts Act is catastrophically vulnerable to that type of manipulation, particularly by governors,” Seligman said. “And the Electoral Account Reform Act would go an enormously far way in preventing that type of manipulation.”

But Mastriano’s election denialism and cavalier attitude toward certifying elections have earned him not only Trump’s endorsement but the adoration of the MAGA faithful. At Trump’s rally this weekend in Wilkes-Barre, Mastriano received a standing ovation when he spoke ahead of Trump. When he stood next to the former president during Trump’s speech, he said, “We’re gonna fight like hell for voting integrity, and we’re gonna start with voter ID,” calling it “something very near and dear to both of our hearts.”

Shapiro, for his part, has said this increases the stakes of the election, saying that Mastriano’s actions are contrary to Republican rhetoric about freedom, and pointed out at the event in Scranton that he won the legal fights against Trump in 2020. “By the way, the former president went 0 and 43. I went 43 and 0,” he said to applause.

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Armenia and Azerbaijan ceasefire broken as 49 die



Azerbaijani military stationed in the city of Lachin (Anadolu Agency/Getty)

ALISHA RAHAMAN SARKAR

A ceasefire between Armenia and Azerbaijan was observed for barely 15 minutes yesterday morning before the decades-old hostility between the two countries resumed, with fresh skirmishes leading to the deaths of at least 49 soldiers.

The cost of the renewed conflict was likely higher as only Armenia reported the number of deaths on its side after the

clashes with Azerbaijan over the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh. Azerbaijan acknowledged casualties on its side as well but did not elaborate.

Armenia accused Azerbaijan of shelling towns near the border, including Jermuk, Goris and Kapan, which led the country to respond to the “large-scale provocations”. Azerbaijan claimed it was attacked by Armenia. The renewed conflict led to powerful allies Russia and the US calling on the Caucasus countries to cease hostilities and observe a ceasefire agreement that was supposed to be in place from 9am.

The Russian foreign ministry in a statement yesterday morning said it had brokered the ceasefire which, according to Azerbaijani media, lasted for just 15 minutes. Russia had sent thousands of peacekeepers to the region as part of a deal to end the hostilities.



Footage released by the Armenian Defence Ministry shows Azerbaijan soldiers crossing the border (Armenian Defence Ministry/AP)

Armenian prime minister Nikol Pashinyan accused Baku of shelling border towns because it did not want to negotiate over the status of Nagorno-Karabakh – a disputed enclave inside Azerbaijan with an ethnic Armenian-majority population.

“Intensive shooting is continuing – started as a result of a large-scale provocation by the Azerbaijani side. Armenia’s armed forces have launched a proportionate response,” the Armenian Defence Ministry had said. Later in the day Mr Pashinyan, in a

speech to parliament, said the intensity of hostility had reduced, but active fronts still existed in some areas.

Azerbaijan, which re-established full control over the disputed territory in 2020 in a six-week-long conflict that killed thousands, claimed to have come under “intense shelling”.

“Several positions, shelters and reinforced points of the Azerbaijan armed forces ... came under intense shelling from weapons of various calibres, including mortars, by units of the Armenian army,” Russian news agencies quoted Azerbaijan’s defence minister as saying.



Armenian PM Pashinyan accused Baku of shelling border towns (Reuters)

“As a result, there are losses in personnel and damage to military infrastructure.” Following the clashes, the Armenian prime minister dialled Russian president Vladimir Putin, French president Emmanuel Macron and US secretary of state Antony Blinken to discuss the situation.

“As we have long made clear, there can be no military solution to the conflict,” said Mr Blinken. The French president said Paris would bring up the topic of clashes between the two countries at the UN Security Council.

Armenian defence minister Suren Papikyan spoke to his Russian counterpart Sergei Shoigu and reportedly agreed to take steps to stabilise the situation on the border. Meanwhile, Azerbaijani foreign minister Jeyhun Bayramov held a conversation with his

Turkish counterpart Mevlut Cavusoglu, who called for Armenia to “cease its provocations”.

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Scholz invokes Berlin Airlift to prepare for tough winter



Blockade busters: Allied forces flew around 250,000 times to drop fuel and food to West Berlin from 1948-1949 (Getty)

DAVID HARDING

INTERNATIONAL EDITOR

Olaf Scholz has urged Germans to invoke the spirit of the Berlin Airlift to get through the tough winter ahead. Germany faces the

prospect of blackouts, rations and price rises as Berlin tries to meet a shortfall in energy provision in its effort to move away from reliance on Russia.

Speaking to business leaders at Tempelhof Airport, which was the focal point of the airlift between 1948 and 1949, the chancellor said modern-day Germans had to look to history for inspiration. “The Berlin Airlift was a technical and logistical tour de force,” he said in a speech at the German Employers’ Day. “But no one could be sure in advance that the operation would end well ... and yet everyone went ahead with it.

“The Berlin Airlift proves that the seemingly impossible can succeed if we courageously set big goals and work together. This makes me confident in the face of the great tasks that lie ahead of us,” he said. “Let us tackle the task together!”

During the airlift, Allied forces flew in hundreds of thousands of tonnes of supplies into divided Berlin after the Soviets blocked rail and road access to the city’s Western-occupied sectors as the Cold War began in earnest in the aftermath of the Second World War. It is estimated that US and British forces flew over Berlin more than 250,000 times between June 1948 and September 1949, dropping fuel and food to residents. The blockade was eventually lifted by the USSR.

Germany has warned its residents about a tough winter ahead, especially after Moscow announced earlier this month that it was closing the Nord Stream 1 pipeline indefinitely for “repairs”. That move was seen as revenge for Germany and Western Europe supporting Ukraine following Moscow’s invasion of its neighbour in February. The underwater 1,200km (745-mile) gas link runs from under the Baltic Sea near St Petersburg to northeastern Germany and can send up to 170 million cubic metres of gas each day.

Germany has been long criticised for its over-reliance on Russian energy. Mr Scholz said Berlin intended to create a huge boom in the hydrogen industry as part of efforts to diversify its energy sources away from Russian gas. Germany has filled its gas stores to some 88 per cent of capacity to get through the winter

as Russia cuts gas exports and is looking to more sustainable long-term solutions.

Describing hydrogen as the gas of the future, Mr Scholz promised that Germany would “trigger a big boom”. He added that Germany would have the infrastructure necessary to import all the gas it needed by the end of 2023 and pointed to the construction of liquefied natural gas terminals off the country’s coast.

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Man, 77, believed to have been killed by pet kangaroo



The kangaroo was shot because it was preventing paramedics from getting to the victim (Getty/iStock)

SRAVASTI DASGUPTA

A wild kangaroo that was kept as a pet apparently killed its owner in southwest Australia, in the first fatal attack by the animal in the country since 1936.

Police said that the 77-year-old man was found with “serious injuries” on his property by a relative on Sunday in semi-rural Redmond, 400km (250 miles) southeast of the western Australia state capital Perth.

According to the police, the man was believed to have been attacked earlier in the day by the animal. The kangaroo was shot dead by the police because it was preventing paramedics from reaching the injured man. “The kangaroo was posing an ongoing threat to emergency responders,” the police statement said.

Police believe that the animal had been kept as a pet. Australian law has restrictions on keeping native fauna as pets. The last time a kangaroo fatally attacked a human was in 1936 when 38-year-old William Cruickshank from New South Wales died at a hospital months after he’d been attacked by a kangaroo.

He suffered extensive head injuries including a broken jaw as he attempted to rescue his two dogs from a large kangaroo, *The Sydney Morning Herald* newspaper reported at the time.

According to animal experts, the attack on the elderly man over the weekend was “not surprising”, reported NCA NewsWire. “I’ve seen it ... male kangaroos taking each other on and fighting. Their nickname is the boxing kangaroo and that’s because they do kick. Their claws are really big, and they’re muscly.

“Their bodies are built for this ... they’re built for boxing and they’re built for battle in some cases,” Australian Reptile Park life science manager Hayley Shute told the news outlet. “The public sort of see kangaroos and koalas as fluffy, cuddly animals. I think it’s just important to note that they are wild animals and there’s a level of respect you have to give them,” she added.

Western grey kangaroos are common in Australia’s southwest. They can weigh up to 54kg (119 pounds) and reach 1.3m (4ft 3in) in height.

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World news in brief



William Ruto is sworn in as the president of Kenya in the capital Nairobi yesterday (AFP)

Kenya president confirmed after legal battle

William Ruto was sworn in as Kenya's president yesterday after narrowly winning the 9 August election. The Supreme Court last week rejected a challenge by losing candidate and longtime opposition figure Raila Odinga of the official results, completing a markedly peaceful election in a country with a history of troubled ones.

Mr Ruto, 55, had been the deputy to outgoing President Uhuru Kenyatta but had a bitter split that left the two not speaking for months at a time. Yesterday, the audience cheered as the two

shook hands, and again as Mr Kenyatta handed over the instruments of power. “A village boy has become the president of Kenya,” Mr Ruto said in his speech. His speech praised both the church and Islamic leadership, and he vowed that “we will enhance our partnership, build on our collaboration and enhance our support to them”. *AP*

Thai court sentences activist for insulting queen

An activist in Thailand has been sentenced to two years in prison under the royal defamation law by a court. Jatuporn Saeoueng, 25, was sentenced for attending a pro-democracy protest in October 2020 in traditional Thai attire that the court interpreted as “mocking” and “insulting” to the queen. The protest featured a “mock fashion show” for which the activist was dressed as the queen, and was a counter to a fashion show being held by Princess Sirivannavari Nariratana, daughter of King Maha Vajiralongkorn of Thailand.

Ms Saeoueng told the media just before the court ruling: “I have no intention to mock anyone. I dressed for myself on that day, for a version of myself in a Thai traditional dress. And today, I dress the same way to show that this is just me, in a Thai traditional dress and to ask – what’s wrong with that?” She is also going to appeal the ruling in the Supreme Court. She was also ordered by the court to pay a fine of £23.50.

China prepares for Typhoon Muifa

China ordered ships to return to ports, closure of schools and evacuation of tourists in eastern Zhejiang province yesterday as the region braces for one of the strongest typhoons this year to make landfall. Typhoon Muifa, which barrelled towards the port cities of Ningbo and Zhoushan yesterday, is expected to make landfall today between Wenling and Zhoushan. According to the official Xinhua news agency, the typhoon is expected to bring torrential rain across eastern and southern coastal areas, including China’s financial hub Shanghai which is just north of

Ningbo and Zhoushan. Ningbo, Zhoushan and Taizhou ordered schools to be suspended today. The three cities, along with Shanghai, have a population of 42.26 million.

Eight dead after fire at electric bike showroom

Eight people died and several others were injured yesterday after a fire that started in an electric bike showroom spread to a hotel in the southern Indian city of Hyderabad. All the victims were staying in a lodge located above the showroom, senior police official Deepti Chandana said. An inquiry has been initiated to find out the cause of the fire but the police said that the fire started from the cellar where 40 electric bikes were parked. It is suspected that these bikes were kept in charging mode in the evening, possibly leading to the fire.

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If monarchists are so certain of their case, let's vote on it



So much for free speech: anti-monarchy protests have led to arrests this week (PA)

ANDREW BUNCOMBE



Timing can sometimes account for a lot. In the aftermath of the Queen's death, the group Republic, which wants to abolish the monarchy, said: "We are saddened to hear the news of the Queen's death and we wish to express our condolences to the royal family." It added: "There will be plenty of time to debate the monarchy's

future. For now, we must respect the family's personal loss and allow them and others to mourn."

The group was correct to be quiet and respectful in the aftermath of the death of someone who reigned for 70 years. The news was a deep jolt to the country. Many of us have felt either personal – or a more general – unsettling sadness. Her death marks the end of an era, as well as the passage of time – and ultimately underscores that no thing, and no person, lasts forever.

Yet amid the days of pomp and pageantry of a state funeral, it is essential we find time to talk about the very future of the monarchy itself: whether Britain wants one, and whether it is fair to send Charles – now King Charles III – on such a path. The time for such a conversation is right now.

Over the weekend, it emerged that people had been arrested – one in Scotland and one in Oxfordshire for holding up signs calling for an end to the monarchy. Symon Hill, 45, told *The Independent* he called out, "who elected him?" when Charles III was officially proclaimed King.

Some will say they want to keep the monarchy and insist it provides a largely apolitical, national glue. Others might be open to discuss the issue of an elected head of state, but feel it not the right time, or is somehow disrespectful. But Britain can do several things at once. It can pay tribute to someone who dedicated their life to the nation, while also holding a conversation as to whether it wants her replaced by her 73-year-old son, simply by dint of being from the same family.

Indeed, the death of Elizabeth has provided a rare freedom for us to hold such a conversation – and to question the wisdom of simply carrying on as before, with Charles in her place. The arguments in favour of scrapping the monarchy are many. Republic argues that it wants to see the monarchy abolished and the Queen replaced with an elected, democratic head of state. It has condemned police action against anti-monarchy protesters over the last few days and announced upcoming protests.

Spokesperson Graham Smith said: “We will be writing to police forces around the country, raising these concerns. We intend to organise protests at the coronation and will expect those protests to be allowed to go ahead peacefully.”

We may think well of Charles and can still have admired Queen Elizabeth. The point is that the institution is anti-democratic, outdated and has surely served its purpose



Polls show about 25 per cent of Britons would favour an elected head of state, with 61 per cent who prefer an unelected monarchy. Among those aged 18–24 age group, a plurality of 41 per cent are supportive of getting rid of the monarchy, with 31 per cent in favour of keeping it. It is critical to talk about this now because Britain is experiencing a rare moment of national introspection, perhaps one similar to the outpouring of emotion and questions following the death of Diana, when people lined up in tears to leave flowers outside Kensington Palace.

For a small number of people still alive, it may echo the moment when the Queen was crowned in 1953, following the death of her father, George VI, the year before. Back then, the young 25-year-old looked like a breath of fresh air, someone who appeared ready to fire some life into the institution. Charles looked anything but that when he appeared to address the nation for the first time as King, vowing to serve with “loyalty, respect and love”.

“As the Queen herself did with such unswerving devotion, I too now solemnly pledge myself, throughout the remaining time God grants me, to uphold the constitutional principles at the heart of our nation,” he added. Yet we all know where this dedication to the institution of monarchy has got us.

Many of those praising the Queen for her years of service make reference to the point that she never complained – and did so selflessly. Inherent in that respect is that it was a job very few would wish to do. Why now inflict it on Charles or William? We also know of the outdated, tradition-bound culture of the palace, that 40 years ago stopped Charles from marrying the woman he loved – Camilla – because she was deemed by the palace not to be appropriate.

It may be the case that we have collective amnesia, but have we forgotten what led to Charles's marriage to Diana – a relationship that ultimately ended in tragedy, with accusations of mental cruelty levelled at the palace by her family? They were in essence the same things that were voiced by Harry and Meghan when they appeared with Oprah Winfrey, to explain why they wanted to find a life outside the palace.

The media certainly has a role to play in seemingly forgetting this very recent history, or failing to mention other various scandals, such as Prince Andrew's alleged sexual assault of a minor – something he denied but which the Queen helped settle out of court. But this is not about the individuals. We may think well of Charles and can still have admired Queen Elizabeth. The point is that the institution is anti-democratic, outdated and has surely served its purpose.

If those in favour of keeping a monarchy are so certain of their case, then let's put it to the vote. At least then, the impossible-to-prove argument that "a majority of the population supports them" would have a factual basis. Such a vote would strengthen the monarchy. Such conversations are already being held in some of the 14 nations where the Queen was also the head of state. In Australia, Green member of parliament Adam Bandt reopened a long debate by calling on the country to cut its formal ties with the UK.

At least six Caribbean countries, among them Antigua and Barbuda, Jamaica and Belize, have suggested they wish to remove the British monarch as head of state. If they are having such conversations, we should be holding our own. Britons are going to have lots to think about in the coming days, amid the

10-day period of mourning. It is a deeply worrying sign that people are arrested for holding up signs. So much for our love of free speech.

The conversation should not be pushed aside or swept to the margins. We should be talking about it openly: whether we support a monarchy or wish to demand a fairer, more democratic way of choosing our head of state. It is in everyone's interest that we talk about it now.



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The Queen lying in state has the makings of a disaster



Allowing millions of people to see Her Majesty's coffin is a logistical nightmare (Getty)

SEAN O'GRADY



Anyone thinking about attending the lying-in-state for the Queen will need the kind of reserves of physical and mental stamina normally associated with running a marathon or climbing Ben Nevis. There can be very few people who will be able to queue for five miles and for more than a day in order to pay their last respects. And when I say more than a day, I don't mean a

working day of eight hours or even 24 hours – but a full 30 hours. That’s just the latest guesstimate. It could, conceivably, be even longer.

Nor is this going to be like when people spend the night camped out for Wimbledon or a royal wedding, with a bit of camaraderie, sleeping bags and tents providing minimal protection from the elements (and it is getting a bit cooler in the evening). No. This queue will be constantly shuffling along the streets of London. As the government website gently puts it, this is a journey “with very little opportunity to sit down as the queue will be continuously moving”.

You’ll have to sleep on your feet, and when you eventually get to Westminster Hall, you’ll be too exhausted to know where you are and what you’re doing there. The government has warned people about the physical endurance test they’ll have to go through, and advised them not to bring children.

What they haven’t done, because it’s probably unlawful, is advise people with disabilities not to bother turning up, or tell people who are frail that this gig isn’t for them. That, however, is the effect of what is being “organised” right now. The only people who’ll be able to file past the catafalque in a comfortable way without queuing will be MPs and other signatories. Old soldiers and people who use wheelchairs will be four miles down the road, waiting in a miserable line with no easy access to a loo, food or drink or indeed rest. It doesn’t seem very fair.

I’d say it’s nuts, and has the makings of a disaster to shame the nation. We need to find a better way of doing things. In the past, lyings-in-state were easier to arrange because there was less need for security, baggage checks and the numbers would be smaller than seems likely for Queen Elizabeth II.

This isn't going to be like when people spend the night camped out for Wimbledon or a royal wedding, with a bit of camaraderie, sleeping bags and tents providing minimal protection from the elements



Perhaps back in 1952, for George VI, people with disabilities just didn't go along because that was the way of the world back then. But we live in more enlightened times now. Perhaps it is too late, but there might be a way to provide a simple ballot with specified time bands that would enable people to pay respects without endangering their health, and put all mourners on an equal footing. There are lots of events that do this, and plenty of organisations that know how to make the necessary arrangements. We might have also organised a way for mourners to mark their thanks by lining the road as the coffin came to London.

It also has to be said that the 11th-century Westminster Hall – in its day the largest “room” in Europe – isn't well-suited to the task of hosting a mass event. A more radical move would be to keep the Westminster Hall event, but have the lying-in-state for the public in a bigger place, such as St Paul's. I'd even advocate using the distinctly untraditional NEC in Birmingham.

This would maximise the numbers who could attend and take the strain off London, and there'd be little queuing. Bear in mind, a public lying-in-state for a monarch isn't some ritual dating back to Arthur or William the Conqueror, but to George V, in response to public demand. As the House of Windsor often showed, old ways can be modernised.

An online ballot system for Westminster Hall would necessarily mean fewer people might be able to attend, but that's surely preferable to the chaos which is fast approaching. A 30-hour long shuffle through the streets of London isn't practical, or

even humane. It is hardly befitting the memory of her late majesty.



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This is how employers can make work more enticing



Most companies claim to respect their staff but deep down, do they? (Getty)

HAMISH MCRAE



Some day in the future, the Great Resignation will become the Great Scramble for Jobs, but not for a while yet. As unemployment continues to fall across the developed world, wise employers should figure out how to attract and retain talent. The labour shortage is particularly acute in the UK, with unemployment at 3.6 per cent.

In the US, there was a climb in unemployment in August from 3.5 per cent to 3.7 per cent, but that was partly because of the annual wave of new entrants into the job market, as young people started out on their careers. In July, UK unemployment was at a 50-year low. In Europe, rates are higher overall, at 6.6 per cent in the Eurozone and 6 per cent in the EU as a whole, though rates vary enormously across the bloc, from 2.3 per cent in the Czech Republic to 12.6 per cent in Spain.

So what should companies do? To oversimplify the situation, there are two issues. One is how to hire and retain. The other is how to motivate. Not only are significant numbers of people dropping out of the job market, but there has also been a mood among employees that they should do the job they are contracted to do in the hours they are paid for, and nothing more. They should not go the extra mile to try and outperform.

There is the “lie flat”, or tang ping movement, in China, and “quiet quitting” in the US, where Gallup found that half the workforce apparently took this approach. In the UK, there is the longer tradition of “work to rule”, where workers precisely carry out what is specified in their contract but do nothing more. However, this has long been used as a form of protest short of a strike, rather than a new social phenomenon.

Quiet quitting is different from dropping out of the labour market altogether, but I suspect that the appropriate response to both from employers should be pretty much the same. It is for the business schools and management consultants to develop the complex reward schemes they are famous for, though the way bonus schemes have grown has created a lot of unpleasantness in the workplace.

If people feel they are being invested in, they are likely to stay with the employer that does that investment. It is the moment they stop that investment that people feel they need to move on



But here are five straightforward ideas for employers facing a hiring or motivation challenge. If you want an acronym, there is the unfortunate one of Trash.

Train: training is one clear thing that employers should do, not simply because better-trained staff are more efficient or do the job better – but because they are adding to the human capital of their employees. If people feel they are being invested in, they are likely to stay with the employer that does that investment. It is the moment they stop that investment that people feel they need to move on.

Respect: most companies proclaim that they respect their staff, but deep down, do they? Inevitably, there will be staff turnover but employers need to respect the choices that their people make, even if they disagree with them. And the other part of the bargain is if they do respect their staff, the chances are that in some way or another that will be reflected.

Accept: some staff will want a transactional relationship, where they simply do the job they are asked to do and nothing more. This is quiet quitting. If that is what people choose to do, that's fine. Very few jobs now are for life. Companies grow, taking their employees with them, while other ones go bust. Even the public sector no longer offers security of employment, though it does in general have better pensions than the private sector. So there is nothing wrong with quiet quitting if that is what people want to do. Firms need to take that on board.

Share: one of the truly troubling features of the past few years has been the way in which huge incentives – share options and the like – are handed out to senior employees, while people in the middle and lower ranks get nothing. Of course, there are differentials in the rewards people get, and there have to be. But the system has become corrupted.

Pecking away at these excesses will take a decade and more, but the sooner a start is made, the sooner the world will recover its confidence in the mixed-market economy. One way to reduce the sheer unfairness is to find ways of getting all staff to have some share in the success of an enterprise, be it profit sharing, creating share options or properly-constructed bonus schemes.

Help: that is a culture that seeks to help staff in their daily lives, over and beyond the transactional relationship. Everyone at some stage of their life needs help – anything from funds to help raise the deposit for a home, through to support when family troubles require compassionate leave. A well-run enterprise will have resources that no individual has. Companies show their class when times are tough, as they have been over the past two-and-a-half years, and that is noted.

Of course, there are many other ways in which employers can cope with the hiring crisis, and the current situation in the labour markets will not last forever. But they need to realise that the world is very different from the long era of high unemployment that has persisted for much of the past 40 years. If they fail to adapt, it will be they who are trashed, not their employees.

Hamish McRae's new book, 'The World in 2050', is published by Bloomsbury



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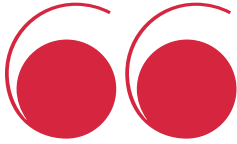
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Here's the news you missed with the death of the Queen

They may have gone unnoticed in a country with its head bowed but events continue elsewhere, writes **David Harding**





It may be hard to believe it, but there has been some other news this week. While the death of Queen Elizabeth II was always going to dominate headlines at home – though it is still a daily surprise by just how much if you turn on the television – that hasn't stopped other notable events from happening overseas.

Ukraine's advances in its war against Russia have been so important that they have even managed to punctuate the blanket of news that is laying heavily on the UK. As important as Kyiv's gains are, the signs of dissent in St Petersburg and Moscow are equally of interest.

The rise of the far-right across Europe seemingly continues, with stunning gains in Sweden by the Sweden Democrats party at the weekend. And the ideas of right-wing parties continue to make headlines. Denmark, like Britain, is trying to send asylum seekers to Rwanda, and inched closer to a deal with the African government at the weekend. And populist Hungary has announced that it is moving to tighten its abortion rules, for the first time since 1956.

Elsewhere, all-out conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan threatens in the Caucasus again, with 49 Armenian soldiers killed earlier this week, a potential war that could draw in major powers, including Russia, and a wildfire started in France, during September.

Denmark, like Britain, is trying to send asylum seekers to Rwanda, and inched closer to a deal with the African government at the weekend



The UN claimed 50 million people are trapped in poverty, Zimbabwe is struggling with a looming food crisis due to the

failure of maize crops and in the UAE there was a mass sacking of journalists merely for reporting rises in fuel prices. In Hong Kong, five people were jailed for publishing children's books, Pakistan was still trying to recover from recent ruinous floods, religious tensions continued in India, and China's leader is to meet Vladimir Putin.

In America, disgraced conspiracy-ranter, Alex Jones, was up in court again for telling grieving Sandy Hook parents that their children weren't actually gunned down at school but it was all a hoax. Steve Bannon was indicted for alleged fraud, Jair Bolsonaro slipped further in the polls as the Brazilian presidential election inched closer. And rumours over the fate of Donald Trump following the FBI raid on his Florida home grew.

It may have gone unnoticed in a country with its head bowed for the past few days, but real life continues elsewhere.

Yours,

David Harding

International editor



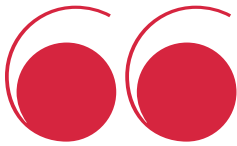
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The divine right to rule has no place in modern society



Protesters in the UK who have expressed the opinion both verbally and in writing that a monarchy is not to their taste appear to have caused offence and triggered police interventions ('An assault on democracy', News, yesterday). As far as I am aware, none of the protests were directed at the late Queen herself.

The Queen, personally regarded in many quarters with respect and affection, did her job as head of state in the UK to a standard unlikely to be equalled by any future incumbent. To a significant number of the UK population, however, it is a calling that should not exist in modern society. It is an exclusive vocation to which no one outside the royal family can be appointed – and they themselves have a batting order.

Should a head of state be selected by an accident of birth? Does anyone now believe in the divine right of kings or queens? In terms of constitutional arrangements, in both the UK and democracies elsewhere in the former empire, the event may prove a watershed.

David Nelmes *Newport*

The nuclear option

Your editorial yesterday encouragingly says "we can finally hope for an end to the war in Ukraine" but other media also point out the danger of a "wounded bear" lashing out with nuclear weapons. This fear has inhibited Nato – and will continue to do

so – from taking bolder and more direct action to bring your headline to fruition. But if, as we all hope, it proves correct, surely the world must now recognise that the only way to remove the risk of nuclear war is to get rid of these weapons.

For too long have the states that possess nuclear weapons opposed an outright ban. Once the conflict is over, the US should offer the withdrawal of all its nuclear weapons from Europe and Nato immediately adopt a policy of No First Use. This initiative would encourage an internationally isolated Russia the opportunity to enter the negotiations with dignity and respect that has been absent from the West. The resumption of peace in Ukraine will be a unique opportunity to remove the risk of these terrible weapons being used in future conflicts. Now is the time to plan for this.

Robert Forsyth *Deddington, Oxfordshire*

Swallowed a wasp

Regarding the proposal to have Liz Truss accompany our new King on his tour around the UK (News, yesterday), has the man not suffered enough sadness in the past few days? The poor woman seems to have her own cloud of wasps accompanying her everywhere she goes. She definitely looked like she had swallowed yet another one as she watched the first minister walk up to do the Old Testament reading in St Giles Cathedral.

Bob Cupples *St Cyprien, France*

Put the hot air to use

I note with interest the proposal for a turbine in the Thames to power the Houses of Parliament. Would it not be simpler to use the hot air which is already generated there?

Nick Donnelly *Devon*

Together in mourning

Should we choose to listen to those who wait patiently tonight at St Giles or Windsor, we might find the path to a less divisive body politic in the UK. The public has responded to a person they trusted, who was constant and committed to a common public good, to duty – not personal gain.

Kindness is often mentioned, something increasingly invisible in the discourse and debates in media, online or in parliament. Though we are told time again how individualistic and divided modern Britain is, many are voting with their feet this weekend, reflecting a common cause and perhaps a need for a communal experience.

Will our current political leaders offer them a vision that delivers on these values? Or will change come from both sides, as the electorate recognises that predictable, solid and experienced Starmer and Davey may just represent qualities worth valuing?

Jane Alliston Pickard *Edinburgh*



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Section 2/ The Big Read

CRISIS MANAGEMENT

Britain's most senior police officer takes up his post at the Met amid political and public pressure around corruption, racism and a spike in violent crime, writes **Lizzie Dearden**



Sir Mark Rowley started his role as Met Police commissioner on Monday (PA)

Sir Mark Rowley became the head of UK counterterror policing shortly before Isis declared its “caliphate” in 2014. He takes up his post as Metropolitan Police commissioner four days after the Queen’s death.

Britain's most senior police officer re-enters the force he retired from four-and-a-half years ago at a critical moment, and his management of upcoming events will be a trial by fire on which his tenure will be judged.

The policing operation for the funeral of Queen Elizabeth II will be among the biggest in the UK's history, seeing officers pulled into London from across the country. With thousands-strong crowds lining the streets and world leaders flying in from around the globe, the security risks are stark.

Scotland Yard has said its plans are "well-rehearsed" and that a "great number of police officers" would be working to keep the public safe. But the commemorations following the Queen's death are far from the only challenge Sir Mark faces as he takes up his post.



Sir Mark takes the oath at New Scotland Yard on his first day (PA)

On 5 September, a Metropolitan Police officer shot an unarmed Black man dead in Streatham following a car chase. The killing of Mark Duggan in similar circumstances in 2011 sparked riots that spread from London to other major cities. Protests have been taking place after 24-year-old Chris Kaba's death, which is being investigated by the Independent Office for Police Conduct as homicide.

The watchdog said armed police tried to stop the car he was travelling in after an automatic number plate recognition camera flagged a link to a previous firearms incident. But it confirmed no gun was found in the vehicle or surrounding area, and that the car was not registered to Mr Kaba.

His family said they needed “answers and accountability”, adding: “We are worried that if Chris had not been Black, he would have been arrested and not had his life cut short.” The mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, said the shooting had caused “anger, pain and fear – as well as the desire for justice and change”.

Scotland Yard committed to becoming “an actively anti-racist organisation that can be trusted by everyone in London” in May, laying out plans drawn up following the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests. But public confidence from the Black community remains low, amid issues over the disproportionate use of force, Tasers and stop and search powers, and scandals over child strip searches and police racism.



Chris Kaba was shot dead by armed officers (PA)

A wider lack of trust was one of the factors that saw the Metropolitan Police put in special measures by HM Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) in June, with a letter raising concerns about the handling of the murder of Sarah Everard by serving officer Wayne Couzens, an inquiry's findings of "institutional corruption", and failures in the response to serial killer Stephen Port's targeting of gay men.

An investigation commissioned by Dame Cressida Dick into the force's "standards and culture" is ongoing, as is a wide-ranging public inquiry triggered by Ms Everard's murder looking at vetting and how Couzens remained in his job.

HMIC's full report into the force's "efficiency, effectiveness and legitimacy" was due to be published on Thursday but was postponed after the Queen's death. It is likely to contain more negative findings about the Metropolitan Police's handling of crime, protection of the public and management of its staff. Official figures indicate that the Met is struggling to hit targets set by the government as part of Boris Johnson's pledge to recruit 20,000 extra police officers across England and Wales by next March.



Wayne Couzens was a serving Metropolitan Police officer when he kidnapped, raped and murdered Sarah Everard (Met Police/PA)

In a letter days before her resignation as home secretary, Priti Patel told Sir Mark he must show “strategic leadership to ensure that your force has recruited the full 4,557 additional officers it has been allocated”. She said that the Metropolitan Police was “failing to get the basics right” when dealing with crimes such as burglary, robbery and theft, which cause “immense distress to the public”.

While most types of crime plummeted during Covid lockdowns and restrictions in London, recorded violence with injury offences are now above the level in August 2019, as are crimes including rape and drug trafficking. Metropolitan Police data shows that sanction detections – the number of crimes solved in

the capital – fell by 3 per cent in the year to August, but the number of recorded offences rose by 10 per cent. In the most recent month, 26 crimes were solved per 1,000 people, but 319 were committed. The gulf is growing for violence, theft, weapon possession and drug offences, although it is narrowing for sexual offences, robbery and burglary.

Ms Patel said the new commissioner had told her of a plan for his first 100 days in post to “renew policing by consent – more trust, less crime, high standards”.

“It is absolutely vital that trust and confidence is restored and that visible, responsive policing, which cuts crime, is at the forefront,” she wrote. “Several recent high-profile incidents have affected public trust and confidence across communities, particularly in London, raising serious questions about the culture and standards in the Metropolitan Police Service.

“These include Sarah Everard’s murder, strip searches of children, the vetting of police officers, basic respect and standards, as exposed in the misconduct at Charing Cross police station in Operation Hotton, and the findings of the inquest into the handling of the deaths of [Grindr serial killer victims] Anthony Walgate, Gabriel Kovari, Daniel Whitworth and Jack Taylor.”



Daniel Morgan was killed in Sydenham, southeast London, in 1987 (PA)

Ms Patel told Sir Mark he needs to ensure Scotland Yard “clearly demonstrates that it will learn from the appalling mistakes of the past and move the culture away from the organisational defensiveness that has hindered progress and damaged public trust”. That defensiveness has been on full display over the past two years, with the force denying findings of “institutional corruption” by a panel who investigated the unsolved 1987 murder of private detective Daniel Morgan.

A report published in June 2021 said that severe failings in the initial investigation, where the crime scene was not searched, interviews were not properly carried out and suspects were forewarned of their arrests, meant potential evidence had been “irretrievably lost”.

Baroness Nuala O’Loan, chair of the Daniel Morgan Independent Panel, said Scotland Yard had not acknowledged or confronted its failings and showed a “lack of candour”.

“We believe the Metropolitan Police’s first objective was to protect itself,” she added. “We believe that concealing or denying failings for the sake of an organisation’s public image is

dishonesty on the part of the organisation for reputational benefit, and constitutes a form of institutional corruption.”



Security for the Queen’s funeral presents a huge challenge for police (AFP via Getty)

The findings sparked calls for Dame Cressida Dick’s resignation, following personal criticism over how she handled the inquiry’s requests for information, but her deputy rejected accusations of wrongdoing or the label of “institutional corruption”.

Daniel Morgan’s brother, Alastair, told *The Independent* how he had fought for justice for decades while being “lied to and shut out” by the Met. “They will not listen and it’s so difficult to get them to listen,” he added.

“They’ve finished up in a situation where their reputation has probably never been lower, which is so unfair to all the men and women out there who are doing their very best to protect us and stop wrongdoing. It’s not just my life and my family’s lives that have been damaged, it’s them too – there’s no winner here.”

The Daniel Morgan report’s findings came into fresh focus over the following year, which saw a number of Metropolitan Police officers prosecuted for offences including rape, stalking and sharing photos of two women’s bodies. A series of cases have uncovered shocking WhatsApp messages between officers, ranging from racial slurs to threats and jokes about rape, domestic abuse and violence against women.



Reclaim These Streets founders (left to right) Henna Shah, Jamie Klingler, Anna Birley and Jessica Leigh celebrate outside the Royal Courts of Justice, London, after winning their legal challenge against the Metropolitan Police (PA)

Police leaders claim that many cases are brought to light by whistleblowers inside police forces, but critics point out that wrongdoing by officers linked to Couzens would not have been uncovered if investigators had not seized his phone after he murdered Ms Everard.

The Met's "organisational defensiveness" has also been on unflattering display through its handling of the public response to Sarah Everard's murder. Officers threatened women who tried to organise a vigil with arrests and £10,000 fines, then arrested women who attended the resulting informal event on Clapham Common, pinning some to the ground.

In March, the High Court found that the force had wrongly claimed Covid restrictions made a vigil illegal and that its decisions were "not in accordance with the law", but it did not admit fault and unsuccessfully tried to appeal the ruling.

Despite the clear findings that it had misinterpreted Covid laws, the force then prosecuted six protesters for not paying fines over the event and persisted with the case until the Crown Prosecution Service dropped the charges. Some of the fined women are now suing the Metropolitan Police, and their lawyer called its conduct "absurd and damaging".



Sir Mark faces huge challenges in his new role (PA)

Anna Birley, the co-founder of the Reclaim These Streets group that tried to hold the original vigil for Ms Everard, said the force “still hasn’t apologised or acknowledged wrongdoing”.

“Once they’re convinced they’re right they won’t let go of an issue even if it’s damaging to wider policing and the trust people have in them,” she told *The Independent*. “They’re incapable of changing course.”

Ms Birley believes police pursued charges against vigil attendees to “find another route to justify their actions”. She added: “There have been very good individual officers, particularly locally, who have made lots of efforts to listen and engage but the senior leadership have shown very little willingness to do so.

“They haven’t reached out to ask for our input into rebuilding trust, they haven’t apologised or acknowledged wrongdoing from a court case they really comprehensively lost, and the fact they prosecuted those who were at the vigil and other operational errors suggest to me that they haven’t listened or learned from the experience.”

Ms Birley said that the wave of scandals suggested “longstanding issues around misogyny and nasty behaviours ... that have at best been tolerated and at worst been promoted”.



Prime minister Liz Truss plans on introducing new crime targets (PA)

The campaigner, and Labour councillor, said that following her experience with the vigil she had found examples of anonymous police officers on Twitter “harassing and gaslighting women and other whistleblowers who talk about some of these problems from their own experience”. In her view, the situation has worsened to the extent that the Metropolitan Police must question whether it “should continue to exist in its current form or not”.

Ms Birley said that with its responsibility for counterterrorism and national duties, the force was “trying to do everything when it can’t do individual parts of it properly”. The Metropolitan

Police needs to get its house in order, she said, and Sir Mark must be the one to do it.

He will be coming into his role overseen by a new home secretary and new prime minister, who are both likely to pronounce their own crime policies following the period of national mourning over the Queen's death.



Former Metropolitan Police commissioner Dame Cressida Dick left after a dispute with the mayor of London Sadiq Khan (PA)

During the Conservative leadership campaign, Liz Truss announced that she would create targets for police to cut crimes, including homicide by 20 per cent, before the next general election. Police sources dismissed the plan as “incoherent” and unworkable, warning that previous targets had become a “perverse incentive to misrecord crime” and lose focus on vital areas such as child protection.

If the new prime minister pushes ahead with the idea, implementing it will be as difficult and dangerous for Sir Mark as any other chief constable in the country. Ms Truss also said she wanted the leaders of underperforming forces to attend a “special meeting” of the National Policing Board and explain their plans to ministers, indicating a top-down approach that many would see as political interference in operational policing.

As Metropolitan Police commissioner, Sir Mark faces unprecedented pressures from all sides – the public, the government and his own officers, who have been resigning in

their droves amid dissatisfaction over pay, working conditions and what they see as unfair and disproportionate criticism.

His task is a momentous one, and time will tell whether he can successfully balance the extreme and often competing demands of Britain's most senior police officer.

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Section 2/ Letter from America



Seeing the Queen's death through American eyes

Holly Baxter on national anthems and mummified corgis



King Charles III and other members of the royal family hold a vigil (AP)

It's amazing how Americans think British people take monarchical tragedy personally. On the day of the announcement of Queen Elizabeth II's death, my husband and I were hit with a deluge of messages from our American friends.

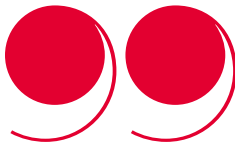
“How are you doing after the tragedy?” One friend asked me (half-jokingly) over brunch a couple of days later. It took me a while to even realise what he was talking about. I cycled through family members and friends in my mind – none of whom had come a cropper recently, as far as I knew – before concluding that he meant the Queen. Later, questions about the corgis came thick and fast: were they really going to be executed? (No.) Did the Queen actually say she didn’t want them to outlive her? (Yes, although it seems the tone was more “because I love my dogs so much” rather than “because I want them killed, mummified and preserved in my tomb as companions for the afterlife”.) Is there a chance they might end up with the world’s most controversial royal and the Queen’s reportedly favourite son, Prince Andrew? (Yes – as we found out later).

Many Americans have a lot of affection for the British royal family, or at least for the Queen. They know about Princess Diana and about Harry and Meghan and their children Archie and Lilibet. They’re fuzzier on Kate, William and Charles, having not been summarily bombarded with information about their every move by tabloids since the 1990s (who could forget “Waity Katie”?).

But discussions about the British monarchy rarely come without addendums about colonialism (which, in my view, is quite right). *CNN* ran an article about India’s view on the royal family and the country’s request for the return of the Koh-i-Noor, and another about the Queen’s complicated colonial legacy in Africa. *The Washington Post* wrote that now is the time to “recall the pain of British colonialism”. The *New York Times* examined whether former British colonies might now want to cut off all existing ties with the UK. And *NPR* published an opinion piece about the royal family’s colonial background with the frank headline “Not everyone mourns the Queen”.



I told them ... I don't feel comfortable asking that a God I don't believe in save a Queen I don't support, much less to wish that she is 'long to reign over us'



These conversations are not seen as disrespectful or in poor taste, though it's my impression from British friends that they might be seen that way inside the UK right now. But the US, for all its flaws, is a country big on freedom of speech – and while it's true that a large commemorative billboard featuring the face of Queen Elizabeth II is currently on display right by Times Square in New York City, it's true also that people approach her and her family with curiosity rather than reverence. Though a Carnegie college professor who tweeted that she hoped the Queen experienced pain in death was attacked across the internet – including, bizarrely, by Jeff Bezos – and though Americans are generally polite and respectful around death, few shy away from expressing their anti-monarchical views. This is the country that threw tea in the harbour, after all.

During the last European football championship, when a bunch of my American and British friends attended a screening of an England game at a crowded outdoor bar in Brooklyn, the national anthem started up and one of my friends stood with his hand on his heart. That's normal behaviour in the US: the national anthem is played before everything, and everybody stands... and most enthusiastically participate. Our American friends, therefore, didn't bat an eyelid at an Englishman doing the same. Granted, most Brits I know would roll their eyes at that kind of thing.

When the English national anthem ended and my friend sat down, the Americans around us expressed shock that I hadn't joined him. Why would I not stand for my own national anthem, they asked? Surely that's the bare minimum expected of a British citizen?

I told them that I would stand for a national anthem speaking fondly of my country and my fellow citizens, but I am a (very much small-r) republican and I don't feel comfortable asking that a God I don't believe in save a Queen I don't support, much less to wish that she is "long to reign over us". I have no personal problem with the Queen, who seems to have taken her duties very seriously and endured a lot of hardship under a harsh spotlight. But the idea that my entire country should be summarised in song by sycophantic lyrics about pledging ourselves to the aristocracy rubs me up the wrong way. The Americans in attendance hadn't actually known the lyrics of our anthem, and when I explained what they were, they raised their eyebrows and laughed.

I think, while the very likeable Queen was head of state, people found singing such an anthem easier to swallow. But the next time people are asked to stand and ask that God save and preserve King Charles III's reign "over us", I hope they think more about what they're saying. There are better ways to honour our country and all the people in it – ways that make Brits sound like the progressive, multifaceted bunch we are, rather than ways that make us a laughing stock whenever we have to explain the lyrics to our national song abroad.

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Section 2



ON THIS DAY



Sam Neill, 75, celebrates his birthday today (Getty)

1741: A weary Handel finished his *Messiah*, 24 days after he had started it. Supplied with the libretto, he confined himself in his room at Brook Street, London, living almost entirely on coffee until he completed the music.

1812: Napoleon entered Moscow, which had been abandoned by the Russians using a scorched earth policy. But winter was

approaching and Napoleon soon had to retreat.

1852: The Duke of Wellington, English military commander, the “Iron Duke”, victor at Waterloo, statesman and Tory prime minister died aged 83 at Walmer Castle in Kent.

1886: The typewriter ribbon was patented by George Anderson of Memphis, Tennessee.

1891: The first penalty kick in an English League football game was taken by Heath of Wolverhampton Wanderers against Accrington. Previously, an infringement resulted only in a free kick for the wronged side.

1901: US president William McKinley died in Buffalo, eight days after being shot by an anarchist. He was succeeded by Theodore Roosevelt.

1927: Isadora Duncan, the American dancer, was strangled by her scarf in Nice when the fringe caught in the wheel of a Bugatti sports car.

1964: The British daily newspaper the *Daily Herald* ceased publication and was replaced by *The Sun*.

1982: Princess Grace of Monaco, sometimes better known as American actor Grace Kelly, died in Monaco’s hospital without regaining consciousness after a car crash the previous day.

On this day last year: Government ministers unveiled their blueprint for “living with the virus” through the winter, setting out plans for Covid booster jabs.

Birthdays

Amanda Barrie, actor, 87; **Walter Koenig**, actor, 86; **Sam Neill**, actor, 75; **Mary Crosby**, actor, 63; **Morten Harket**, singer, 63; **Kimberly Williams**, actor, 51; **Andrew Lincoln**, actor, 49; **Tinchy Stryder**, rapper, 36.

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PART OF THEIR WORLD

Black girls should be allowed to dream, says **Nicole Vassell**, as Disney's 'The Little Mermaid' is criticised for its casting



The choice of Halle Bailey to play Ariel has provoked a backlash (Disney)

For generations, it has been Disney that has taught us about the world. For decades, though, Disney only considered white characters as worthy of inclusion in their stories. It wasn't until the Nineties that the corporation began to introduce non-white princesses, including Pocahontas, Mulan, *Aladdin*'s Jasmine and

The Hunchback of Notre Dame's Esmeralda. And it wasn't until 2009 that Disney introduced a Black princess to the canon, in the form of Tiana in *The Princess and the Frog*.

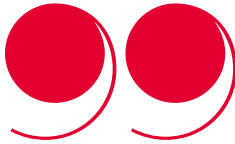
After a childhood spent awkwardly squeezing into Belle – from *Beauty and the Beast* – and Snow White costumes at princess parties, I was thrilled to finally see a character specifically representing girls like me – never mind the fact that, by then, I was well into my teens, with my hardcore Disney-loving days behind me. Soon, countless Black girls will have someone else to point to as their hero: Halle Bailey's Ariel in next year's live-action remake of *The Little Mermaid*.

Over the weekend, fans got their first taste of Bailey's Ariel – mermaid's tail, purple bikini top and ginger dreadlocks to boot. As well as this, we also heard her sing some of the character's signature song, "Part of Your World" and got a glimpse of the underwater kingdom that Ariel so longs to escape. For most, it was a joy. Bailey – one half of the singing sister duo Chloe x Halle – looked radiant as the wistful mermaid, while her sweet vocals introduced a fresh take on the much-loved character. But unfortunately, the trailer also resulted in a revival of the racist remarks that cropped up when Bailey was first cast in the part. Tied to the idea that the live-action version of Ariel should reflect her appearance in the original film – pale white skin, straight red hair – trolls declared that Bailey was #NotMyAriel. Many claimed that her casting was an example – surprise, surprise – of "woke" culture gone mad.

Immediately, many others rubbished the claims. After all, they're arguing about who can and can't play a human-fish hybrid creature. In a film that includes a singing crab with a Jamaican accent. And a purple octopus woman who steals voices. So to debate whether it matters that the lead character is now played by someone Black is, in many ways, very silly. This is all meant to be fictional fun, isn't it? But in the effort to wave away the ridiculousness of the reactions, it's easy to discount just how meaningful it is for Black girls to see versions of themselves on screen.



One film is not going to change a system that has long considered whiteness as the standard. For Black children, though, it's an opportunity to feel included in the fantasy and the magic of Disney



A viral thread of videos filmed in the wake of *The Little Mermaid*'s trailer release has shown dozens of children – and mostly Black girls – reacting with glee upon seeing Bailey. “I think she’s brown,” one girl says in a clip. It’s hard not to feel touched by the happiness it brings her.

Any child psychologist will tell you that the messages a young person receives is formative to their self-esteem. For many Black children, years of watching Black people being sidelined in pop culture reinforces ideas that they’re not “part of the world”. It’s a wrong-headed lesson that can take years to unlearn.

It has long been proven that children perceive of race and attach different meanings to different skin colours. In the Forties, Kenneth and Mamie Clark used dolls to conduct studies on children’s awareness of race. For instance, two different dolls were placed in front of Black children, and the Clarks found that the children were more likely to attach positive attributes to the white doll. More negative attributes were attached to the Black doll. Though it was initially intended to show the harm in segregated schooling, the experiment has been recreated several times in the 75 years since. It’s a prime example of how early children are affected by their surroundings.

Frankly, it's heartbreaking to see how early and how deep this sense of negative bias exists in Black children. There is subsequently no telling just how extensively this feeling of inferiority can run – into adolescence and adulthood – and how much of it is related to what they're taught about people who look like them. Having a media that actively shows that whiteness doesn't have to be the default for our imaginations is a step towards making Black children feel just as important in their favourite stories as their white peers.

When it hits cinemas next year, *The Little Mermaid* will surely have families of all backgrounds in the seats, ready to enjoy. One film is not going to change a system that has long considered whiteness as the standard to uphold. For Black children, though, it's an opportunity to feel included in part of the fantasy and the magic of Disney. Halle Bailey's Ariel doesn't take away from Jodi Benson's voiceover in the animated version, and it's not just a positive for Black children, either. Shouldn't every child be able to conceive of heroes of all colours?

It's been many years since my last princess party, and I don't expect to attend one any time soon. But for the Black girls who will, I'm glad that Ariel doesn't feel as far out of reach as it once did.

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Section 2/ Train Talk

GOING OFF THE RAILS

Competition on Channel Tunnel route between London and continental Europe is desperately needed, says **Simon Calder**



Prime position: a Eurostar train at St Pancras station (AFP/Getty)

What would we do without Eurostar? It provides the traveller between the capitals of the UK, France, Belgium and the Netherlands with a civilised terrestrial link. Surely only a fool with little regard for the planet would fly from London to Paris, Brussels or Amsterdam?

Well, that depends how price-sensitive the traveller turns out to be. Eurostar has a “lead-in” fare of £39 one-way from London St Pancras International to Paris or Brussels. But, says reader Paul Byrne: “Trying to get one of these low-cost tickets is near-impossible. I understand they have dynamic pricing, but why are they so expensive?”

My research shows that some of the cheapest seats are definitely available, booking several weeks ahead, but not on every day and usually only on services at either end of the day. And that is because Eurostar, like any other sensible transport provider, employs dynamic pricing: the dark art of trying to fill every seat at the highest possible fare.

Eurostar has been running trains through the Channel Tunnel since 199 and was hit even harder than the airlines during the height of the coronavirus pandemic. For many months, total or partial leisure travel bans in the countries it serves meant traffic dried up almost completely: Eurostar was running just a couple of trains each day, often with only a handful of passengers.

Today, travellers are returning to Eurostar in large numbers; I dare say a fair few of them are choosing trains over planes to continental Europe because of all the airport chaos. But as it tries to shake off the financial misery that has dogged it for 30 months, the train firm is making some tough decisions that may not endear it to passengers.

All manner of “nice-to-have” features have been cut: Ashford and Ebbsfleet stations in Kent are closed; the Disneyland Paris service is to end next summer (though this is largely due to Brexit-imposed checks); and taking a bicycle is not currently possible. “We’re no longer able to relaunch our bike service as planned this summer,” says Eurostar. “This is due to security and customs issues which are outside of our control. We’re sorry for the inconvenience.”

For the vast majority of passengers, though, Eurostar is back on the agenda. On the core intercity routes, loads are very high: whenever there is a national rail strike in the UK, affecting early and late-in-the-day Eurostar trains, rebooking passengers on the

same day appears challenging. The company seems understandably determined to exploit the demand in order to rebuild its finances after the disaster of Covid.

For a sense of how fares are looking compared with before the pandemic: in three weeks' time I want to travel to Brussels to attend an aviation conference. In 2019, looking a few weeks ahead and being flexible about timing, I would expect to see some one-way fares at around £60 and would hope to find a round trip for £120 return or less.

But going outbound, the cheapest I can find is £104.50. Returning the following day, a £49.50 ticket is available – giving a round trip of £154. British Airways from London Heathrow is £27 cheaper, which really shouldn't be the case. I then checked Paris fares for the same dates; they were better, at a lowest price of £134.

Eurostar is able to exploit its near-monopoly position and manage capacity to keep fares high and trains full. Competition on the Channel Tunnel routes between London and continental Europe is desperately needed: it would certainly benefit the traveller and, if the airline experience is an indicator, would lead to an increase in the market for everyone.

Meanwhile, tickets at the lead-in price of £39 are available if you are able to tailor your trip around them.

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Section 2/ Ask Simon Calder



Is a one-hour Singapore stop viable for Australia?



On a long-haul trip, it is worth building in a decent stopover (Getty)

Q My travel agent has proposed a flight to Australia that involves a one-hour connection in Singapore. Can she be serious, and what will happen if I (or my luggage) miss the onward flight?

Jane M

A Your travel agent is to be commended for offering a way to get you to Australia as swiftly as possible. I should say that it would be even better to spend some days in Singapore: ideally on a long-haul trip, it is worth building in a decent stopover. This has

two big advantages: making the most of the opportunity to immerse yourself in another country and helping with the adjustment to a new time zone (particularly if you arrive in Singapore early in the morning and manage to stay awake through the day).

Yet for all sorts of reasons travellers may need to get the trip over with as soon as possible. And a one-hour connection is an effective way of doing so. I believe the minimum connecting time at Singapore Changi airport is just 50 minutes between international flights, so an hour should be manageable. Changi is well organised. In my experience, there are much shorter distances between gates than at, say, Dubai, Doha and Istanbul, and key flows – such as UK-Australia – are usually arranged with the gates for arrivals and departures close together.

Airlines sell connections because they believe, most of the time, they will work. Trust me: they want you to make the connection. Even if your inbound flight is a little late, staff will be working to help you – typically meeting you by name at the aircraft door and speeding you to the next gate. They also know the number of connecting passengers for onward flights, and sometimes will hold the departure to make sure everyone is aboard.

Sometimes connections don't work: looking at Singapore Airlines' mid-morning flight SQ317 over the past couple of months, there have been two delays of around three hours. When that happens, a large number of people will have their connections disrupted and can expect to be put on the next available flight – annoying, but possibly you may qualify for compensation under air passengers' rights rules. And Singapore airport has a swimming pool on the roof where you can fill in the time. But the strong likelihood is that you will make the connection.

Email your question to s@hols.tv or tweet @simoncalder

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SMOOTH SAILING

Lucy Partington tries out retinol serums for your skin



There's no doubt that you've heard of retinol. A derivative of vitamin A, it's one of the most powerful and effective skincare ingredients that you can use, and there's a reason why it's hailed as "gold standard" by almost all dermatologists and skincare experts.

Not only does it have an unrivalled ability to treat acne – which it was originally used for – but it’s also great for increasing skin cell turnover to improve the quality and texture of skin. As well as that, it’s able to improve the appearance of pigmentation, reduce pore size and boost collagen production. But, despite all that, it’s an ingredient that gets a bad rap – mostly because, if it’s not introduced into your routine correctly, it can cause dryness, sensitivity and irritation.

Don’t let that put you off though. Retinol is one of the most studied – and therefore proven – skincare ingredients, so it’s more about acclimatising your skin and introducing it into your routine slowly. “To begin with, especially if you have sensitive skin, apply retinol over a hydrating serum or moisturiser to ‘buffer’ it,” says Victoria Hiscock, medical communications manager at AlumierMD.

“You could start with a once weekly application,” she adds, “Then, using a single pump, apply a thicker layer where you are resilient (possibly T-zone or jawline) and a thinner layer where you are more sensitive (perhaps your cheeks).”

Suitable for most skin types, let us introduce you to the crème de la crème of the skincare world in order to help you narrow down the retinol serum that’ll suit you most.

How we tested

It’s important to play the long game when it comes to retinol – it’s not an ingredient that you’ll see results from straight away. So while we can’t account for the long-term benefits of every one of these products, we have used them for a minimum of two weeks each (although our tester has used some for longer in her own routine) in order to get a feel for texture, ease of use and any initial dryness that may occur. These are the stand-out products to know.



Medik8 Crystal Retinal 6: £62, Medik8

You can always rely on Medik8 to launch incredible products that guarantee results. When it launched, crystal retinal was a breakthrough formula harnessing the power of retinaldehyde – which is part of the vitamin A family but one that works quicker than retinol.

Available in a few different strengths, 6 falls in the middle and is a good choice for anybody who's already using vitamin A in their routine and is looking to increase the potency. The gentle formula is unlikely to cause irritation and the addition of hyaluronic acid, vitamin E and glycerin works to hydrate skin, too. Our tester loves how effective this is, and it really is up there with the very best of best in terms of results.

Buy now



**AlumierMD Retinol Resurfacing Serum 0.2: £69.50,
AlumierMD**

AlumierMD is one of those brands that doesn't get as much attention as it should – its products are incredibly hardworking and it's also a brand rooted in science. The only downside is that it's only available to buy in approved salons and clinics, but don't let that put you off.

This retinol resurfacing serum features microencapsulated retinol that is gradually released throughout the night in order to achieve maximum results with minimal dryness or side effects. Our tester did experience some peeling with this, but that's not unusual, it's just worth bearing in mind that it is a potent product so it's best to introduce it slowly, or sandwich a thin layer between moisturisers if needed.

Buy now



Elizabeth Arden Retinol Ceramide Capsules Line Erasing Night Serum: £47, Elizabeth Arden

If you're somebody who worries about how much retinol you should be applying, these capsules take all the guesswork out. Easy to travel with, each one has a measured amount of product so you'll never use too much – which should, hopefully, ensure any irritation is minimal. The capsules are biodegradable too. The only thing to note is that they are quite heavy on the silicone, which has a velvety feel on skin which is worth bearing in mind, especially if – like our tester – you're not a huge fan of that sort of texture.

Buy now



The Ordinary Retinol 1% in squalane: £6.90, Boots

A quick scan at the cost of some of the retinol serums mentioned here will tell you everything you need to know: it's not the most affordable of products. But The Ordinary changed everything when it launched, creating affordable and effective products, and its retinol serum is no exception.

The formula contains 1 per cent pure retinol, and it's vital that you slowly introduce it into your routine to reduce the chances of irritation. There's no doubt that this is effective, it's easy to apply and, considering the price, feels like a much more expensive serum. It's one of a couple of similar serums that The Ordinary sell, but our tester thinks this is the best in its retinol offering.

Buy now



Youth To The People Retinal and Niacinamide Serum: £59, Cult Beauty

Alongside retinol, niacinamide is another effective ingredient that works to reduce pore size and strengthens the skin's barrier, and super-cool brand Youth To The People have combined it with retinaldehyde in this powerhouse serum. One of a few excellent products from this brand, not only does it help target fine lines and wrinkles, but it also works to soothe and improve uneven skin tone, too.

Our tester loved the texture of this serum and it sunk into skin quickly and easily without feeling sticky – but she would suggest layering it with a moisturiser for an added hit of hydration. Just make sure you leave around 10 minutes between applying products to ensure you're getting full efficacy of the ingredients and aren't diluting them.

[Buy now](#)



Environ Focus Care Youth+ Concentrated Retinol Serum: £43, Face The Future

It's not easy to know where the best place to start with retinol is, but this one is the first step in Environ's clever "step up" system – use two to three bottles of this before moving up to the next step, which will slowly increase in potency. Designed specifically as an entry level serum, it has a low dose of vitamin A that helps to acclimatise skin while also delivering the renowned benefits of the ingredient. The serum itself is lightweight and doesn't ever feel sticky or heavy on skin – plus it layers perfectly well underneath moisturiser if you want an added hydration buffer.

Buy now



Beauty Pie Super Retinol Ceramide-Boost Anti-Ageing Face Serum: £70, Beauty Pie

Beauty Pie is no stranger to high quality, incredibly hardworking products and this retinol serum is no exception. It's formulated with an excellent blend of hydrating ingredients, including ceramides and hyaluronic acid. The former helps to reduce visible signs of ageing while the latter helps ensure skin remains dewy and not dry.

Our tester liked that this is a fragrance-free formula, and after a couple of uses soon realised why it's one of the most popular Beauty Pie products. She also liked the addition of lactic acid, an exfoliating ingredient that works to gently resurface the skin. This is a great entry point for anybody looking to start using retinol, and, if you've been looking for one, it's the perfect excuse to sign up to Beauty Pie especially as member can grab this serum for just £16.50.

Buy now



La Roche-Posay Retinol B3 Anti-Ageing Serum: £38, Cult Beauty

Just because you have sensitive skin doesn't mean you should steer clear of retinol – instead, choose a product that keeps your skin type in mind. Each and every one of La Roche Posay's products is formulated for sensitive skin, and that includes its bestselling retinol serum. Our tester loves this as an entry point into retinol as its gentle and effective without being overly harsh on skin; it contains 0.3 per cent retinol alongside glycerin and vitamin B3 (niacinamide) which support the star ingredient and improve its efficacy, plus it's free from fragrance, hypoallergenic and non-comedogenic, meaning it won't clog pores.

Buy now



Bybi Beauty Bakuchiol Booster: £13, Bybi

Chances are you've heard of bakuchiol: a natural, vegan-friendly and plant-based ingredient that's been shown to work in a similar way to retinol. It helps prevent fine lines and wrinkles, while also targeting pigmentation, elasticity and firmness. Bybi's booster can be added to your existing moisturiser to supplement existing products in your routine, helping them to work harder and smarter.

Our tester loves how affordable and easy to use it is – and that you can apply it directly onto skin instead of mixing it into another product, whatever suits you best. Bybi's sustainability credentials shouldn't be underestimated either, a brand that's fighting the good fight and doing everything it can to build a better future for our planet.

[Buy now](#)

The verdict

Overall, you won't go far wrong if you incorporate any one of these retinol serums into your nighttime skincare routine.

Medik8's crystal retinal is up there with the best on the market, but if you're a beginner and want to introduce the ingredient

into your routine slowly then **Environ's serum** is a great place to start.

If you don't want to spend a fortune, **The Ordinary** is a brand our tester would happily recommend time and time again thanks to its efficacy. Similarly, you can always put your trust in **La Roche Posay** when it comes to being gentle on sensitive skin.

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Section 2/ Film



SURVIVING BORAT

Maria Bakalova, the co-star of 'Borat: Subsequent Moviefilm', has thrived after *that* scene with Rudy Giuliani. She talks to **Adam White** about her latest film 'Bodies Bodies Bodies'



Acting brave: 'I'm scared of a lot of things. But when it comes to a character, that's my way of escaping reality' (Getty for IMDb)

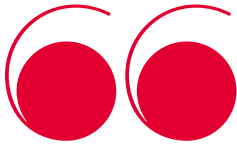
Maria Bakalova will go down in history as the only actor to receive an Oscar nomination for playing a feral, monkey-eating Kazakh who discovers feminism via a rendezvous with Rudy

Giuliani. Unless, of course, Meryl Streep decides to get really ballsy in her twilight years. Until then, though, Bakalova stands alone. It was that encounter with Giuliani – a skin-crawling display in which he touches her waist and her arms and rummages around his lap – in Sacha Baron Cohen’s 2020 sequel *Borat: Subsequent Moviefilm* that anointed Bakalova as one of the bravest actors in Hollywood.

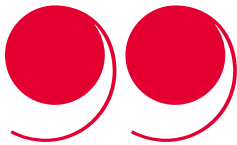
Playing Borat’s industrious 15-year-old daughter Tutar, the Bulgarian actor is alone with Giuliani – the former mayor of New York and one of Donald Trump’s top aides – in his hotel room, made up in Republican anchorwoman cosplay and interviewing him for a right-wing TV network. Tutar flatters him. Giuliani grins. Tutar gives him a Kazakh picture book of a girl being swallowed whole by her vagina. They retire to the bedroom – rigged with hidden cameras – where Giuliani asks for her phone number and lies back on his bed, ambiguously tucking his shirt into his trousers. Cohen’s Borat bursts in to save the day. “She’s 15,” he shouts. “She is too old for you!” To this day, Giuliani swears he did nothing untoward.

“I don’t know anything about that person except that meeting we had in that room,” Bakalova tells me over Zoom from New York, wincing a little at the memory. “And everybody can see it!” The scene stole the movie, understandably. But the entirety of Bakalova’s performance earned her that Oscar nod.

Transforming Tutar from a clueless, cage-dwelling teenager into a crusading journalist, she imbues her with an unwavering vulnerability that slowly morphs into steely strength. Look beyond all the Trump-baiting and what you get is a heartwarming feminist parable. With Holocaust jokes.



I might be fearless today and tomorrow I might be crying. The next I might be laughing at something that is so freaking stupid



We're here to talk about the 26-year-old's most high-profile follow-up to *Borat*, a withering slasher satire called *Bodies Bodies Bodies*. It's what would happen if the worst twentysomethings you encounter on Twitter had a party and started being murdered left, right and centre. TikToks are filmed. Podcasts are threatened. Pete Davidson boasts of his sexual superpowers. What on earth would Giuliani think of it?

"I don't know if he'd even see the movie," Bakalova laughs. "As much as it's a timeless story about human behaviour, it's pretty much capturing generations like mine and a little bit older than mine. Not that much of my mom's generation or her mom's generation." I think, in the politest way possible, she's calling Giuliani old as dirt.

Bakalova is sunny, expressive, buoyant. A Zoom window seems too small for her. "I am sending you all the brightest energy!" she beams. "New York is rainy and beautiful, but it gives me this nostalgic feeling that I haven't been in England for a while!" Later, while recalling a scene in *Bodies Bodies Bodies* in which her character is pelted with rain and hail, she practically acts it out for me. "You should have heard the noise! It was like *whooooosh, shooooosh* – it was like a war!"

Bakalova is the closest thing *Bodies Bodies Bodies* has to a hero. She plays Bee, a timid foreigner accompanying her new

girlfriend (Amandla Stenberg's shifty Sophie) to a party of her rich pals. Bee's gift of zucchini bread goes down like a cup of cold sick, and she's frequently out of her depth when it comes to conversation and the gang's mutual self-loathing. She is an earnest complement to their bitter disdain. Joy to their nihilism. Facebook to their BeReal.



Cut! Bakalova and Amandla Stenberg in new slasher film 'Bodies Bodies Bodies' (Gwen Capistran/A24)

It comes as a relief when the group begins dropping like flies – if only to break up the pass-agg tension bouncing off the walls. In a crowded, brilliant ensemble – which includes Davidson, *Shiva Baby*'s Rachel Sennott, *Industry*'s Myha'la Herrold and professional tall person Lee Pace – Bakalova shines. You feel personally affronted when she's thrown out of the house after being suspected of being the killer.

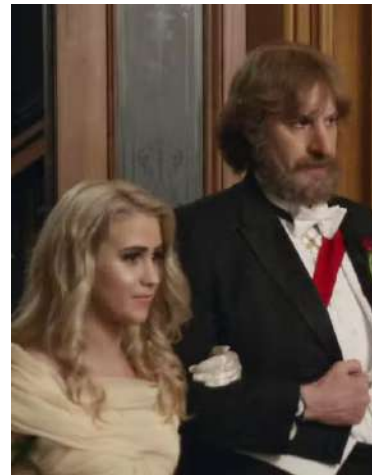
"I had deep empathy for her," she says. "At some point of our lives, we all feel like we don't fit in the circle, even if we want to belong somewhere and be appreciated. I can relate to that. I think her problem, though, is that she tries to be somebody she's not. She's keeping all the secrets, which she shouldn't because secrets get you nowhere."

Since starting work in English language film, Bakalova has played this kind of role a lot: the outsider looking in slightly overwhelmed. "It's like my movie posters have come to life," her

character said in Judd Apatow's Covid comedy *The Bubble*, where she played a concierge at a hotel hosting a parade of A-listers. Even in next year's *Guardians of the Galaxy Vol 3*, she sticks out amid a crew of raccoons and trees: she voices a Soviet dog sent into space. "Sometimes I feel able to speak out loud and be talking and talking and talking," she says. "But then there are times where I'm like, 'Oh gosh, there are so many more experienced people around me.' So I sit down and shut myself up."

There must be a degree of fearlessness to her, I say. Anyone happy to flash their blood-stained underwear to onlookers at a society ball – in *Borat*, obviously – must surely be brave? "I'm scared of a lot of things," she says. "But when it comes to a character, that's my way of escaping reality. That's a reason why I became an actress. If I put a mask of this character on, maybe I'm not going to be as scared. Maybe I'm not going to be as shy." She says she's a mix of different characteristics. "I might be fearless today and tomorrow I might be crying. The next I might be laughing at something that is so freaking stupid."

Despite the "star is born" narrative that surrounded her *Borat* buzz, Bakalova was no deer-caught-in-the-headlights ingenue when she was cast in the film. She had a few Bulgarian film credits to her name and was just about to graduate from the country's National Academy for Theatre and Film Arts. Spurred on by her love of Danish filmmakers such as Thomas Vinterberg (*The Hunt*, *Another Round*) and Lars von Trier, she also had a firm plan to make it as an actor. "In my head I was like, 'Once I graduate, I'm going straight to Denmark – I don't know what I'm going to do or how I'm going to learn this language, but I'm going to do it.'" She sensed that she'd have to work in European co-productions to make a name for herself, and hoped that diving into the Danish film industry would lead



Bakalova with on-screen father Sacha Baron Cohen in 'Borat: Subsequent Moviefilm' (Prime Video)

her to other European filmmakers, followed by America. She calls out a number of her heroes: “Susanna Bier. Pedro Almodovar. Oh my goodness, Paolo Sorrentino. Andrea Arnold – *American Honey* was one of my favourite movies back in the day.”

That was the idea, anyway. Instead of heavy European dramas, though, she’s found an unexpected home in American comedy. “I was never able to dream of things like working on *Borat*,” she says, “That is Hollywood, it’s too far away, it’s impossible.” It was while on the set of *The Bubble* that she found out she’d been nominated for the best supporting actress Oscar. “When you’re on the [awards] circuit, people keep talking and talking about ‘today, they’re announcing the nominees’, so subconsciously you have this thought in your head,” she remembers. “But it was honestly one of the most precious moments in my life. And it’s documented!”

The clip of Judd Apatow breaking the news to her of that Oscar nod is online, where it’s been viewed nearly 100,000 times. Bakalova certainly has a knack for going viral. Thankfully, this time was a lot less gropey.

‘Bodies Bodies Bodies’ is in cinemas now

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Reduce NHS waiting lists and we will fill vacant jobs

The key to producing growth is to cut the number of ‘economically inactive’ older Britons, writes **James Moore**



Unemployment has fallen but so has the number of adults in employment (Reuters)

A question that someone in government needs to answer: how are you going to produce the growth you keep banging on about without the workers to fuel it?

The latest labour market data ought to provide some relief for an administration facing economic crises on multiple fronts – given

that joblessness, at least, is not among them. The problems created by the cost of living crisis, which are huge, would be worse by orders of magnitude if people were camped outside their nearest Jobcentre Plus branch in the hopes of securing the last job in town.

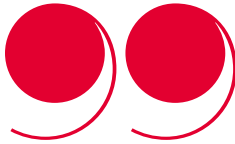
Unemployment fell to just 3.6 per cent during the May to July 2022 quarter, a decline of 0.2 percentage points. It has gone beyond recovering to pre-Covid pandemic levels and is now at its lowest level since 1974. The same, however, is not true for the rate of employment. The proportion of working-age adults – 16 to 64-year olds – in employment stood at 75.4 per cent during the same period, also a decline of 0.2. percentage points. That number remains below pre-pandemic levels.

These movements translated into an increase in the proportion of people rather unfortunately classed as “economically inactive”, rising by 0.4 percentage points during the quarter to 21.7 per cent. The Office for National Statistics (ONS) said the increase was primarily driven by those aged 16 to 24 and those aged 50 to 64. Note, the latter group was responsible for 60 per cent of the increase in economic inactivity during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Now, the number of young people in this category is easily accounted for by an increase in the number becoming students. Having a well-educated workforce is crucial in the modern knowledge economy, so that is obviously no bad thing. The reason for the mass exit from the labour market among those at the other end of the age scale is less happy. The ONS puts this down chiefly to an increase in long-term sickness, which is now at a record high. The total has increased by roughly half a million since 2020 alone. Long Covid? That may account for some but by no means all of it.



Even if unemployment were to start rising, as some expect it to, the labour market is going to be dealing with shortages for some time to come and those shortages will inevitably constrain growth



Older workers are, as a group, clearly more likely to suffer from medical problems than are their more youthful colleagues. But many of those issues are treatable. The trouble is, they aren't being treated. The stresses and strains caused by Covid have left the UK with nearly seven million people on NHS waiting lists. Of that number, 2.7 million have been waiting for more than 18 weeks. QED.

Now, the global economy is sniffing while the UK's has a full-on cold. Consumers are under unprecedented pressure. As a result of all this, we may technically already be in recession and even if we aren't, a sharp rise in interest rates could easily deliver one next year.

The jobs boom may not survive this. However, there were still 1.266 million vacancies recorded by the ONS despite the bad economic data we've been witnessing, comfortably above the number of people seeking work (1.224 million). Even if unemployment were to start rising, as some expect it to, the UK labour market is going to be dealing with shortages for some time to come and those shortages will inevitably constrain growth and recovery.

If you can't find the people you need to grow your business, to help you export and open up new markets, then you're left

treading water. Cutting taxes and “red tape” – a dubious claim on the part of this government given the vast burdens it has willfully imposed upon business as a result of the form of Brexit it has chosen – will do nothing to help with that.

The TUC director general, Frances O’Grady, has argued strongly in favour of investment in public services to help boost the economy instead. Here is an example of where that could yield dividends. If you fix the NHS you will be able to fix the older workers who’ve vanished from the labour force. Some of them may then be prepared to rejoin the labour market, which will help fix the economy.

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Business news in brief



Sales at Morrisons decreased by 4.1 per cent in the 12 weeks leading up to 4 September as it fell behind the German multinational Aldi (PA)

Aldi now UK's fourth largest supermarket chain

Aldi has overtaken Morrisons to become Britain's fourth-biggest supermarket group, helped by its popularity during the cost of living crisis. Market researcher Kantar said Aldi's sales increased 18.7 per cent over the 12 weeks to 4 September, taking its UK grocery market share to 9.3 per cent from 8.1 per cent a year ago. Morrisons' sales fell 4.1 per cent; it had been the fourth biggest supermarket since it took over Safeway in 2004. "Back at the start of the 2010s, Tesco, Sainsbury's, Asda and Morrisons together accounted for over three-quarters of the sector, but that

traditional ‘big four’ is no more,” said Kantar’s Fraser McKevitt.
Reuters

Felixstowe braced for further strikes

The port of Felixstowe says it has received notice from the Unite trade union of a second eight-day strike later this month in a dispute over pay. More than 1,900 workers at Felixstowe, the country’s biggest container port, walked out last month in the first strike to hit the port since 1989. On a visit to the picket line in August, Unite’s general secretary Sharon Graham warned that industrial action would be escalated if their request for a 10 per cent increase in wages was not met. “We are very disappointed that Unite has announced this further strike action,” the port said. *PA*

Start-up claims to have created doubly efficient EV batteries

A tech start-up says it has developed a solid-state battery suitable for electric cars that can fully charge in minutes and lasts more than twice as long as current EV batteries. After successfully demonstrating a coin-cell prototype with charge rates of three minutes and over 10,000 cycles in a lifetime, Harvard spin-off Adden Energy has received \$5.15m (£4.5m) in funding to further advance the technology. William Fitzhugh, chief executive, hopes the product will appeal to the 37 per cent of Americans who do not have garages at home. *PA*

Next opts out of investment in Joules

Next will not take a stake in troubled clothing retailer Joules after talks between the two ended, the companies announced. Shares in Joules plummeted by over a third yesterday afternoon after confirmation that the potential deal had collapsed. Fashion and homeware brand Joules confirmed investment talks last month after reports that it could sell a 25 per cent stake to its larger rival. Joules added it was still in discussions about using Next’s online platform to sell its clothes. *PA*

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Spurs stunned by late goals in Champions League loss

Sporting Lisbon

Paulinho (90), Gomes (90+3)

2

Tottenham Hotspur

0



Paulinho heads the Portuguese team into the lead in Lisbon last night (Getty)

STAFF

Tottenham Hotspur conceded two goals in injury time to slip to a 2-0 Champions League defeat at Sporting Lisbon. Spurs were contemplating an evening of frustration as it looked like they would be held to a 0-0 draw in Portugal before things went wrong at the death.

Paulinho nodded home from a corner and then with virtually the last kick Arthur Gomes sauntered into the box to convert and put Sporting top of Group D with two wins from two.

Spurs boss Antonio Conte will be furious with the manner of the loss as his side suffered their first defeat since April in an uninspiring display.

It had been a slow start, with Marcus Edwards intent on showing his old club what they were missing from the start. And after a darting run down the channel he laid a chance on for Pedro Goncalves inside the opening 10 minutes, but Hugo Lloris was equal to the low shot and tipped it wide.

Spurs looked threatening in patches and thought they took the lead on the stroke of half-time as Richarlison rounded the goalkeeper after being played through by Harry Kane, but the Brazilian was well offside.



Spurs were undone in three minutes of injury time
(Tottenham Hotspur FC via Getty)

It needed another Lloris save to ensure the visitors went in level as the Frenchman denied Edwards a wonder goal.

The 23-year-old, who Mauricio Pochettino once compared to Lionel Messi, sauntered past a number of challenges to advance into the box, played a one-two, beat another man and then stabbed a shot, but was denied by a fine low stop from the Frenchman.

Spurs started the second half strongly and had enough chances to take control of the game. Emerson Royal could not connect properly with Kane's quick free-kick, the England captain then stung the palms of Antonio Adan and Richarlison drifted an effort wide at the far post.

Spurs upped the ante in search of the breakthrough and Kane was just unable to get on the end of a wicked Ivan Perisic cross while Richarlison headed Dejan Kulusevski's cross wide.

But Spurs were undone in three minutes of injury time. Paulinho glanced a header home before Arthur produced a moment of brilliance to weave into the area and shoot under Lloris.

PA

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Dortmund know Haaland well but can they stop him?



Erling Haaland's last match for the German club Borussia Dortmund in May (Reuters)

MARK CRITCHLEY

NORTHERN FOOTBALL CORRESPONDENT

It is fair to say that there are fewer than the standard six degrees of separation between the current Manchester City squad and Borussia Dortmund, particularly after the summer just gone.

Manuel Akanji made the switch just a fortnight ago. Sergio Gomez, his fellow new arrival, is another Dortmund alumni. Ilkay Gundogan is in his seventh season at City – and the newly appointed club captain – but forged his career and reputation at Signal Iduna Park, scoring in a Champions League final no less.

Realistically, though, there is only one topic of conversation ahead of this Group G meeting. There has only been one topic of conversation for several weeks now, in fact, regardless of City's opposition. And if the reverse fixture next month will all be about Erling Haaland's return to Dortmund for the first time since ending a formative two years in yellow and black, this reunion in Manchester is an opportunity to reflect on just how well he has adapted to his new surroundings.

Last week's brace at the Ramon Sanchez Pizjuan against Sevilla not only opened Haaland's Champions League account in City colours, but took him up to 25 goals in the competition after just 20 games, at still just 22 years of age. No player has reached that milestone as quickly. None of the names above him in the list – not even Cristiano Ronaldo, at its very summit – ever looked as certain to shatter all goal-scoring records before them at Haaland's age. And that's just the Champions League.

Haaland's record in all competitions for City now stands at 12 goals in eight games and even that is with counting the Community Shield. Eight days on from City's last outing, as the sport creeps back into life, it is no less of an extraordinary stat or an extraordinary start. In league and European competition, only one team – Scott Parker's Bournemouth – has stopped him from getting on the scoresheet. Still, some at Dortmund believe they have what it takes to be the second.

Nico Schlotterbeck, a young and highly-rated centre-half who joined from Freiburg this summer, is particularly confident. The 22-year-old, whose arrival helped push Akanji into City's arms, this weekend recalled his battle with Haaland in a 2-1 win against Dortmund last year. "In that game, I realised how good I can be," he said, despite speaking in the aftermath of a 3-0 defeat to managerless RB Leipzig. "I know how to stop Erling Haaland. We have to stop City as a whole."

Schlotterbeck may be right but it is telling, perhaps, that the only Dortmund player to in any way downplay Haaland's deadliness is one who was not training with him day in day out over the past two years. Those who know Haaland personally and up close have sounded much more deferential. When the question of how to stop the Norwegian was put to Jude Bellingham at Dortmund's pre-match press conference, he was forced to admit that, frankly, he doesn't know.

"I'm not really sure to be honest," the England international said. "We'll have to find out tomorrow. He's a player with a lot of quality, a lot of physical attributes that make him so dangerous. It's not a thing that's an individual task, it's something that the team has to deal with collectively. I think if we stick together and we try to do the right things without the ball, it can be possible."

Edin Terzic is tasked with devising the game plan. The Dortmund head coach tested City in the quarter-finals of this competition the season before last, while serving as an interim manager. Despite losing 4-2 on aggregate, they were ahead on away goals at half time of the second leg. Terzic was moved upstairs at the end of the season and replaced by Marco Rose, only to be rushed back into the dugout this summer. His previous experience of pushing City hard should come in handy.

"It's not easy to analyse them," he said. "If we were to just look at their goals from the last few weeks, we'd have to spend 45 minutes just watching the recordings." A good half hour would be taken up by his former player. "City have become stronger and more dangerous with Erling but even without him, they have a lot of quality. They've been the top favourites in the Champions League over years and in the strongest league worldwide, they keep getting 90 points and scoring endless goals."

The Dortmund coach is, unsurprisingly, planning for City to dominate. "We need to keep the ball because they have a lot of momentum and force. Sometimes they have 70-80 per cent possession. For you, that leaves 20-30 per cent. How can you use

that possession to cover and position yourself? One and a half years ago we showed we can do it.”

But crucially, one and half years ago, he was the one with Haaland. Those two games were rare occasions when the Norwegian did not score. Despite Dortmund knowing their enemy, it is hard to see him drawing a blank again.

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Canelo to beat Golovkin on points is the simple choice



Trilogy fight: Gennady Golovkin (right) wants to avenge his disputed draw and loss against Saul 'Canelo' Alvarez (Getty)

STEVE BUNCE

Gennady Golovkin and Saul "Canelo" Alvarez have fought in more than 50 world title fights in a decade of dominance. Golovkin was once untouchable, Canelo is unmatched as

boxing's financial saviour and on Saturday night, in Las Vegas, they fight for a third time.

Their first fight in 2017 was a split draw and their rematch a year later was won by Canelo with the narrowest of margins. So far there seems to be a story in each of the 24 rounds they have shared in the T-Mobile Arena; the venue is, uniquely, the home of their trilogy fight.

Golovkin is now 40; his only defeat in 44 fights was the loss to Canelo in September 2018. A defeat he disputes. Earlier this year, he travelled to Japan to stop local Ryota Murata to add the WBA middleweight title to the IBF version he held. He first won a world title in 2010; Canelo won his first world title in 2011. There will never be veterans like this in boxing's future.

Canelo is the baby-bruiser with the Mexican heritage and burden; he is still, remarkably, only 32 but has fought 61 times. His two defeats were risks; Floyd Mayweather outpointed him in 2013 and in May of this year he lost to unbeaten light-heavyweight champion, Dmitry Bivol, on points. In fights between the two defeats, Canelo became boxing's highest-paid attraction and an old-fashioned star.

Now the two men are probably on the other side of their peaks, but still the best in the business. Canelo has held all four belts at super-middleweight in the last year and Golovkin just the two right now at middleweight. However, Saturday's third fight has nothing to do with the baubles they shine so religiously and all to do with the complicated layers of justice that motivate so many wealthy boxers.



Past his best? Golovkin, 40, showed glimpses of his ruthlessness when he stopped Ryota Murata in April (Getty)

Golovkin wants revenge in the ring for the two fights he believes he won and Canelo wants to end all the talk about his controversial wins forever. They are both righteous in their hopes for Saturday night, both assured of their own ability to deliver the final word.

It is clear that Golovkin is not as wicked in the ring now as he was during his finest years when he ruined a dozen top challengers, often in cruel displays. He cut fighters down with damning punches to liver and head and they often fell in agony and screaming. He has stopped or knocked out 37 of the 42 men he has beaten. He was ruthless, cold in the ring and a smiling delight away from the lights. “I bring big drama show,” he would predict. And he did.

Canelo is more methodical but equally savage, and his fists have left so many out cold or curled up in tears on the canvas. He was not ready for Mayweather and Bivol was too big and smart, but there appear very few signs of ageing in the wonderboy. His first fights were for a handful of pesos at tiny venues in Mexico when he was just 15. Now he makes in excess of \$40m for every fight.

It is hard to bet against Canelo, hard to see any signs that his punch resistance has gone; a vulnerable fighter is fodder to Golovkin. Less than a year ago, Canelo was exceptional when he

beat Caleb Plant in Las Vegas on a memorable night. Plant was bigger, fresher, younger, unbeaten, a world champion and yet he was chopped down in 11 rounds. It was impressive.

Golovkin, meanwhile, showed glimpses of his ruthless history when he stopped Murata in the ninth round in April. Murata ran out of space, ideas and desire once Golovkin found his range. The problem for Golovkin is that Canelo has taken his best when the Kazakh was clearly at his best. That must be on Golovkin's mind, behind his eyelids each night he goes to sleep.

Canelo on points in another great fight is the simple choice on Saturday night – it is the choice the bookies will shorten as they struggle to keep their cash safe.

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Sport news in brief



Shot at redemption: Anthony Joshua will fight WBC champion Tyson Fury in December (PA)

Joshua 'accepts all terms' to fight Fury in December

Anthony Joshua has “accepted all terms” to fight Tyson Fury in December, his team have confirmed. Following Joshua’s second straight decision defeat by WBA, WBO, IBF and IBO champion Oleksandr Usyk last month, an all-British clash with Fury looked to have slipped away forever.

However, last week, WBC champion Fury offered the 32-year-old a shot at his belt with Joshua agreeing to a 60-40 purse split

in his opponent's favour as talks advanced throughout the week.

A statement from his management company yesterday read:

“258 and @MatchroomBoxing can confirm, on behalf of @anthonyjoshua, that we accepted all terms presented to us by Fury's team for a fight Dec 3rd last Friday. Due to the Queen's passing, it was agreed to halt all communication. We are awaiting a response.”

Points deduction was ‘gut-wrenching’, say Lancashire

Lancashire have criticised a “gut-wrenching” six-point deduction that extinguished their fading hopes of winning the County Championship. They already looked to be out of contention after a drawn match left them 29 points adrift of Division One leaders Hampshire, but that gap is now a distant 35.

The penalty was imposed by the Cricket Discipline Commission, relating to a series of incidents dating back as far as September 2020. Director of cricket Mark Chilton said: “Following all our hard work throughout the winter and in the County Championship this season, to be deducted points for what are, in our opinion, minor discretions is gut-wrenching. In our opinion, both fixed penalties we received were unduly harsh punishments, which could have gone either way.” *PA*

England prop Walmsley ruled out of World Cup

St Helens prop Alex Walmsley has been ruled out of the remainder of the Betfred Super League season and next month's Rugby League World Cup with a foot injury. Walmsley sustained the injury in his side's defeat at Wigan at the end of last month.

Saints said in a statement: “Initial scans showed a short-term injury, but subsequent results have revealed an injury with a much longer recovery period. Walmsley will therefore not feature in Saints' Super League run-in and will also miss out on a home World Cup with England.” *PA*

Boston Marathon creates non-binary category

Non-binary athletes will be able to run in next year's Boston Marathon without having to register as members of the men's or women's divisions, it has been confirmed. The Boston Athletic Association said they have been working to expand opportunities for non-binary people – not just for the marathon but for the BAA's other races, which include a 5K, a 10K and a half marathon.

They confirmed the change as registration opened on Monday for the 127th running of the marathon on 17 April 2023. A field of about 30,000 is expected for the next edition of the race.

Non-binary athletes can submit entry applications if they've completed a marathon as a non-binary participant during the current qualifying window, the BAA said. They are still working to establish qualifying standards for non-binary participants, but that its online applications will include "non-binary" as a gender option. *AP*

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